

# HERODAS MIMIAMBI

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EDITED WITH  
INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND  
APPENDICES

BY  
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## PREFACE

THERE has been no commentary on Herodas in English for almost fifty years, none in any language for over twenty. It can hardly then be denied that a gap exists; whether I have filled it satisfactorily, *uiderint alii*. My aim has been threefold: (1) to establish where possible what Herodas wrote and to print only this, unadorned by modern poetry; (2) to determine where possible what he meant; and (3) to place him securely in his historical context. On the assumption that anyone who attempts to read Herodas will already have a reasonable command of Greek in general and of Ionic in particular, elementary explanations are not given. I am aware of having provided less literary criticism than might have been expected, but regret this the less, as a paper by Professor W. G. Arnott, treating this aspect much more adequately than I could have done, will shortly appear in *Greece & Rome*.

Any editor must owe much to his predecessors, and I am no exception; but one debt must be acknowledged more particularly, to Walter Headlam. A fine appreciation of Headlam and his work on Herodas is given by Professor Arnott in *Proceedings of the African Classical Associations*, x (1967), 41-4. It is scarcely too much to say that if Headlam had not gone before, my commentary would never have been written.

I have been assisted at various times and in various ways by Professor W. G. Arnott, Professor K. J. Dover, Mr. J. G. Griffith, Professor E. W. Handley, Mr. P. J. Parsons, Dr. V. Schmidt, and Mr. A. Treloar; most of all by Professor H. Lloyd-Jones, who has *inter multa alia* read the whole in typescript and corrected much, besides making the suggestions attributed to him. My debt to my wife is different, but incalculable.

The book was substantially completed at the end of 1968, but was revised in 1970, when I was able to take account of V. Schmidt's *Sprachliche Untersuchungen*. The delay in its appearance

is due to circumstances best left unmentioned—ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κοῦ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι; but it must be said that it has nothing to do with Oxford University Press, to whom I am deeply grateful for undertaking the publication, and all of whose staff have carried out their tasks with exemplary skill.

I. C. C.

*Edinburgh*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Denniston J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1954.
- Frisk H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1954- .
- GMT W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, London, 1897.
- KB and KG R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 3rd ed., revised by F. Blass and B. Gerth, Hanover, 1890-1904.
- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., revised by Sir H. S. Jones and others, Oxford, 1925-40; Supplement, edited by E. A. Barber, Oxford, 1968.
- RE A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and others, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893- .
- Schmidt V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, Berlin, 1968.
- Schwyzler E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, Munich, 1939-53.
- Wackernagel J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, 2nd ed., Basel, 1926-8.

Ancient writers and their works are abbreviated as in *LSJ*, with three exceptions: Hds. (not Herod.) for Herodas, E. *Her.* (not *HF*) for Euripides, *Herakles*, and Suda (not Suid.) for ἡ Σοῦδα. Periodicals and papyrological and epigraphical publications are also abbreviated generally as in *LSJ*.

Fragments cited without further reference are from the following editions:

- Hesiod: R. Merkelbach-M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford, 1967.
- Archilochus: F. Lasserre-A. Bonnard, *Archiloque: Fragments*, Paris, 1958.
- Hipponax: O. Masson, *Les Fragments du poète Hipponax*, Paris, 1962.
- Elegiac and iambic poets (other than the above): E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*, ed. 3, Leipzig, 1949-52.
- Sappho and Alcaeus: E. Lobel-D. L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*, Oxford, 1955.
- Pindar: B. Snell, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. 3, Leipzig, 1959-64.
- Bacchylides: B. Snell, *Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. 7, Leipzig, 1958.
- Lyric poets (other than the above): D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci*, Oxford, 1962.

- Aeschylus: H. J. Mette, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos*, Berlin, 1959.
- Sophocles: A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, Cambridge, 1917.
- Euripides: A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. 2, Leipzig, 1889.
- Menander: A. Koerte, *Menandri quae supersunt*, ed. 3, 2, Leipzig, 1938–58 (except *Dyscolus*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones, Oxford, 1960; *Sicyonius*, ed. R. Kassel, Berlin, 1965; *Aspis*, *Samia*, ed. C. Austin, Berlin, 1969).
- Comic poets (other than the above): T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1880–8.
- Epicharmus and Sophron: G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. 2, Berlin, 1958.
- Historians: F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin and Leiden, 1923– .
- Callimachus: R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, Oxford, 1949–53.

# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE POET

1. External evidence concerning Herodas could hardly be scantier. It consists of:

Plin. *Ep.* 4. 3. 3 (writing to Arrius Antoninus) *ita certe sum adfectus ipse cum Graeca epigrammata tua, cum mimiambos (γ: iambos αβ) proxime legerem. quantum ibi humanitatis, uenustatis, quam dulcia illa, quam amantia (αγ: antiqua β), quam arguta, quam recta. Callimachum me uel Heroden uel si quid melius tenere credebam.*

Ath. 86 b (in a discussion of the ἀναρίτης) Ἡρώδας δ' ἐν Συνεργαζομένοις [11].

Stob. 4. 23. 14 Ἡρώδα (M: Ῥώδα A) μιμιάμβων [6. 37-9].

id. 4. 24d. 51 Ἡρώδου μιμιάμβων [12].

id. 4. 34. 27 Ἡρώδα μιμιάμβων [13].

id. 4. 50b. 52 Ἡρώδα (M: -δου A ex corr.) μιμιάμβων [1. 15-16].

id. 4. 50b. 55 Ἡρώδ (M: -δου A) μιμιάμβων [10. 4].

id. 4. 50b. 56 Ἡρώδου (MA: -δ<sup>υ</sup> S) ἐκ Μολπεινίου [10. 1-3].

id. 4. 50b. 59 Ἡρώδα μιμιάμβων [1. 67-8].

Zen. 6. 10 (τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσομαι)· ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ θρηνούντων . . . Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ ἰαμβοποιός φησιν [3. 10] (on the text of this see Crusius, *Unters.* 55 sq.).

Sch. Nic. *Ther.* 377 βατήρα δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ κ. καὶ Ἡρωδ (K: Ἡρώδας GL: Ἡρωδιανὸς V: ὀρῶ P: om. A) ὁμοίως ὁ ἡμίαμβος (KGP: καὶ ἡμίαμβος V: ἐν ἡμίambois AL: ὁ μιμιάμβος Bergk: ἐν μιμιάμβοις Welcker) ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὑπνῳ (leg. Ἐνυπνίῳ) [8. 59-60].<sup>1</sup>

EM 411. 33 ζήτρειον . . . εὔρηται δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰ συνεσταλμένον· καὶ παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ (Ἡρώδῃ Hemsterhuys) [5. 32]. ἔστι δὲ χορίαμβον (χωλίαμβον Zonar.) τὸ μέτρον.

<sup>1</sup> I cite the variants from Keil's ed. A. Colonna, *Aegyptus* xxxiv (1954), 10, gives Ἡρώδης ὁ μιμιαμβικός without comment.

2. All that can be gathered with certainty is that he wrote *μυρίαμβοι* (see II below). Even his name is not given uniformly, but *Ἡρώιδας* is the most probable form.<sup>1</sup> That he was a contemporary of Kallimachos is a possible inference from Pliny.<sup>2</sup>

3. Internal evidence confirms the date. The 4th poem can be dated, from references to the sons of Praxiteles and to Apelles, to between *c.* 280 and *c.* 265 B.C., the 1st to after, probably shortly after, *c.* 272/1 B.C., and the 2nd to probably before 266 B.C. (see introductory notes to these poems). It is true that strictly speaking these are dramatic dates, but there is no reason to suppose them different from the dates of composition. Herodas' activity as a poet therefore belongs to the late 70s and early 60s of the third century B.C. This makes him roughly contemporary with Theokritos and Kallimachos, for the few certain dates in their complicated chronologies belong to this period (cf. Gow, *Theoc.* i. pp. xviii sqq., Pfeiffer, *Call.* ii. pp. xxviii sqq.).

4. His places of origin and residence are unknown. The name suggests an origin in a Doric area. The places in which the scenes of his poems are set or which are mentioned in them are not necessarily ones with which he had a close connection, especially in an age of easy travel; but they may be such, and therefore must be mentioned here. The 2nd is set in Kos, the 6th and 7th in Asia Minor, the remainder are not localized.<sup>3</sup> Further, a connection with Alexandria and the Ptolemaic empire is shown by the praise of Egypt in 1. 26 sqq. and possibly by 2. 22 (see note). This is exactly what one would expect in an author of this date: Alexandria had become the centre of the literary world

<sup>1</sup> So Meister. *Ἡρώιδας* was once popular, but the evidence for it is weak—Ath. alone against several independent witnesses; and names in *-ιδας* are chiefly Boeotian, occasional in NW. Greece and Sicily (H. Jacobsohn, *Philol.* lxxvii [1908], 353 Anm. 38), with none of which Herodas is otherwise linked. The Attic ending *-ιδης* must be a normalization of the Doric *-ιδας*; Knox's theory that he was an Athenian is quite unfounded, see commentary on 8. 36 sq. and Herzog, *Philol.* lxxxii (1927), 63. *Ἡρώιδας* is the later form of *Ἡρώιδας*, used after the second century B.C.—The colophon of the papyrus is lost.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhardt.

<sup>3</sup> See introductory note to each poem, and *CQ* N.S. xvi (1966), 115 sqq. It is just possible that the 4th is also set in Kos, but even if it is, the widespread belief that Herodas was born in or lived in Kos is without foundation (he may have done so, but there is no proof). Editors are assiduous in finding Koan parallels to the proper names in Herodas, but most are common Greek.

under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and Kos was the King's birthplace, the home of his tutor Philetas, and somehow connected with Theokritos.

5. In the 8th poem Herodas represents himself as a small farmer, but that is probably a literary device. Otherwise the poems are almost completely impersonal. Some have argued that as the characters are unpleasant and immoral, so their author, because he does not condemn them, must sympathize with them and possibly resemble them:<sup>1</sup> but this is a false deduction—we know nothing of Herodas' views or character.

## II. THE POEMS

1. Eight of Herodas' poems are preserved more or less complete, with fragments of at least three others. They are short, dramatic character-sketches, depicting persons from the lower strata of society in their everyday lives. They are described as *μιμιάμβοι*, i.e. *μίμοι* and *ἱάμβοι*: the content and dramatic form come from the non-literary *μῆμος*, the language and metre from the old Ionic *ἱάμβος*.

### (1) *Μῆμος*

2. The word *μῆμος* is of doubtful etymology (a reduplicated onomatopoeic form according to Schwyzer i. 423); *μιμῶ*, an equivalent of *πίθηκος*, is clearly related. It occurs first in A. *Fr.* 71 *ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῆμοι*, from a description of orgiastic rites in the *Edonoi*; the denominative *μιμεῖσθαι* occurs first in *h. Ap.* 163. *μῆμος* as a type of popular entertainment and the person who presented it does not appear till Arist. *Po.* 1447<sup>b</sup>10 and D. 2. 19 respectively. Apparently equivalent terms are *μιμολόγος*, *λογόμιμος*, *ἡθολόγος*, *βιολόγος*, and *μιμόβιος*, none of which is found before the third century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

3. The sparsity of early references is the result of an essential feature of the mime: it is popular, sub-literary entertainment. One natural consequence of the universal imitative tendencies of

<sup>1</sup> B. Snell, *Poetry and Society* (1961), 106 sq.

<sup>2</sup> On the *μῆμος* see E. Wüst, *RE* xv. 2 (1932), 1727–64, to whom I am much indebted in the following, and A. Swiderick, *Eos* xlvii (1954–5), 63–74.

human beings is that those who are especially good at imitating their fellows will do so more or less professionally for the amusement of others. Clearly the mime is not a thing which writers of the classical period would be likely to mention. The one exception, D. 1.c., is very illuminating: in a fierce attack on Philip, the orator asserts that his enemy οὗς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλυνον, ὡς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκείνῳ τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχροῦν αἰσμάτων . . . τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει. Mimes were always in bad repute with those who professed high moral standards; thus Plutarch is displeased that Sulla in his youth liked μετὰ μίμων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν διατρεῖσθαι καὶ συνακολασταίνειν (*Sull.* 2. 3), that he had μιμωδοί and ὀρχησταί to dinner (*ib.* 2. 5), and that those with greatest influence over him were Ῥώσκιος ὁ κωμωδὸς καὶ Σκῶριξ ὁ ἀρχίμιμος καὶ Μητρόβιος ὁ λυσιγιδὸς (*ib.* 36. 2); and the Christian Fathers preached against them repeatedly.

4. But from the end of the fourth century on references are quite frequent in the historians, philosophers, gossip-writers, etc., quoted or used by Athenaios and others. A notable feature of such references is the connection of mimes with γελωτοποιοί (something like medieval jesters; cf. X. *Smp.* *passim*), πλάνοι, and θαυματοποιοί (jugglers and conjurors); see D. 2. 19, Plu. *Sull.* 2. 3 (both quoted above), D.S. 20. 63. 2 (perhaps from Duris, Ed. Schwartz, *RE* v. 687) of Agathokles tyrant of Syracuse, ὑπάρχων δὲ καὶ φύσει γελωτοποιὸς καὶ μῖμος, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπείχετο τοῦ σκώπτειν τοὺς καθημένους καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν εἰκάζειν, ὥστε τὸ πλῆθος πολλάκις εἰς γέλωτα ἐκτρέπεσθαι, καθάπερ τινὰ τῶν ἡθολόγων ἢ θαυματοποιῶν θεωροῦντας, and especially Ath. 19 c–20 b, where a list of successful popular entertainers from various sources comprises a λογόμιμος, an ὀρχηστής, a πλάνος, three θαυματοποιοί, a γελωτοποιός who was also a μῖμος, μῖμοι, a conjuror, an ἡθολόγος who was also a conjuror, three θαυματοποιοί, two πλάνοι, a γελωτοποιός. Clearly some of them were men of diverse talent, comparable to modern variety artists who are prepared to joke, sing, dance, impersonate, or do anything else which will amuse their audience. We may also infer that the performances,



even when separate, were given in the same place, namely in a small booth or on some kind of platform; and there is evidence for this in Klearchos *Fr.* 93 Wehrli, who relates of a mime Ischomachos that he gave his performances at first ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις, later when he had achieved fame ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν. Another possible place of performance is a συμπόσιον; certainly Φίλιππος ὁ γελωτοποιός was in the habit of going round them (*X. Smph.* 1. 14-15). Masks were not worn: Klearchos l.c., the μίμανλος Kleon worked αὐτοπρόσωπος. Nothing positive is known of the costume, if any. That the phallus was worn in early times is extremely unlikely (the statement in Sch. Juv. 6. 65 proves nothing for Greece).

5. Similar in many ways to the μῖμοι must have been the group μίμανλος, μιμωιδός, ἰλαρωιδός, μαγωιδός, σιμωιδός, and λυσιωιδός, the chief difference being their use of music. Our sources for all these are Ath. 620 d-621 d (from Aristokles and Aristoxenos) and Str. 14. 648; cf. E. Hiller, *Rh. Mus.* xxx (1875), 68-78, and P. Maas, *RE* s.v. Σιμωιδοί. The differences between these categories are far from clear, partly because of insufficient evidence, partly because of the corruption in the text of Ath. 620 e, quoting Aristoxenos *Fr.* 111 Wehrli.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may have been the case earlier, by the time of Aristokles (2nd cent. B.C.) ἰλαρωιδός and σιμωιδός were synonymous, as were μαγωιδός and λυσιωιδός; the former wore white male clothes and a golden crown and were more dignified (σεμνότερος) than the latter, who wore female clothes and carried kettle-drums and cymbals. Most important of all, we are told the subject-matter of μαγωιδία: ποτὲ μὲν γυναικῆς (E: -κα A) [καὶ] (del. Kaibel) μοιχοὺς καὶ μαστροπούς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον παραγινόμενον (Meineke: -γεν- AE) πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην (Aristokles *apud* Ath. 621 c). Such themes have a long history. Nowhere is any such information given specifically about the early mime; for the

<sup>1</sup> Ἀριστόξενος δὲ φησι τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενον μαγωιδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ἀνδρείοις λυσιωιδόν. Eust. 1941. 54 sqq. has this text, which he interpreted by understanding προσώποις with ἀνδρείοις, and so Wehrli. But as Hiller, l.c. 73, said, it is intolerable to have to understand πρόσωπα 'roles' with γυναικεῖα and προσώποις 'masks' with ἀνδρείοις; also the lack of parallelism between the clauses is odd. Hiller may have restored the sense with τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα <γυναικεῖοις ἐνδύμασιν> ὑποκρινόμενον μαγωιδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα <μὲν γυναικεῖοις, ἀνδρεῖα δὲ> ἀνδρείοις λυσιωιδόν.

subjects given by Aristoxenos *Fr.* 135 Wehrli—*παλαισταί, πύκται, διθύραμβοι, Κύκλωψ τερετίζων, Ὀδυσσεὺς σολοικίζων*—are attributed to *γελωτοποιοί*, and the performance at the end of Xenophon's *Symposium*, describing the meeting of Dionysos and Ariadne, is probably a *παντόμιμος*, not a *μῖμος*.<sup>1</sup> But the mime in late Roman times dealt with similar themes, and there had probably been no change.

6. Aristoxenos *Fr.* 110 Wehrli further says *τὴν μὲν ἰλαρωιδίαν σεμνὴν οὖσαν παρὰ τὴν τραγωιδίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μαγωιδίαν παρὰ τὴν κωμωιδίαν. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ μαγωιδοὶ καὶ κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑπεκρίθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν*. The first sentence probably means 'as tragedy is to comedy, so is *ἰλαρωιδία* to *μαγωιδία*', without reference to subject-matter, which is introduced in the second (if the first is taken of subject-matter, improbable alterations are necessary, and the result is still tautologous). This agrees with Aristokles, but the borrowing of comic plots is new and important.

7. From this passage Hiller, l.c. 72, rightly inferred that *μαγωιδοὶ* were capable of acting more than one part in the same performance: otherwise one should have to suppose that they used only monologues from comedy, but this is not what the text says. We may assume that the same was true of other performers, if they found it necessary or desirable.

8. The *κιναιδολόγος* or *ἰωνικολόγος* (equated by Ath. 620 e) is brought into this sphere by Strabo l.c., who calls Simos both *σιμωιδός* and *κιναιδολόγος*; for them see W. Kroll, *RE* xi. 1. 459 sq. The resemblance would appear to be a common predilection for indecent jokes rather than anything more organic, though the use of the Sotadean metre, associated especially with the arch-*κιναιδολόγος* Sotades, in *POxy.* 413 recto (cf. below, § 16) may indicate some degree of fusion.

9. All that has been mentioned so far has to do with a single performer. The first evidence for troupes of mimes is an Athenian

<sup>1</sup> Wüst, l.c. 1737, thinks it is a *μῖμος* because of the words (9. 6) *ἤκουον τοῦ Διονύσου ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὴν εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν*, a *παντόμιμος* of course being without words. But I agree with O. Weinreich, *Epigr. u. Pantomim.* 131 sqq., that the actors' words are not part of the action but the outcome of their personal feelings for each other.

terracotta lamp of the third century (C. Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* xxvi [1901], 1-8 with Tafel 1) portraying a young man, a slave, and an old man, all wearing the normal clothes of everyday life and without masks; on the back is the inscription *MIMΟΛΩΓΟΙ / ΗΥΠΟΘΗΣΙΣ / ΕΙΚΥΡΑ*, i.e. μιμολόγοι ἢ ὑπόθεσις ἐκύρα. This is probably a case analogous to what Aristoxenos testifies for the μαγωιδοί, the adaptation of a ὑπόθεσις from comedy (cf. Apollodoros' Ἐκύρα).

10. ὑπόθεσις on the lamp may simply mean 'plot', or it may be used (as Watzinger, l.c. 5, thinks) in the same sense as in Plu. *Mor.* 712 e (in a discussion τίσι μάλιστα χρηστέον ἀκροάμασι παρὰ δεῖπνον): μῆμοί τινές εἰσιν, ὧν (ed. Basil.: ὡς cod.) τοὺς μὲν ὑποθέσεις τοὺς δὲ παίγνια καλοῦσιν· ἀρμόζειν (Reiske: -ζει cod.) δ' οὐδέτερον οἶμαι συμποσίῳ γένος, τὰς μὲν ὑποθέσεις διὰ τὰ μήκη τῶν δραμάτων καὶ τὸ δυσχορήγητον, τὰ δὲ παίγνια πολλῆς γέμοντα βωμολοχίας καὶ σπερμολογίας οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰ ὑποδήματα κομίζουσι παιδαρίοις, ἃν γε (Bernadakis: ἄτε cod.) δὴ δεσποτῶν ἤι σωφρονούντων, θεάσασθαι προσήκει· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναικῶν συγκατακειμένων καὶ παίδων ἀνήβων ἐπιδείκνυνται μιμήματα πραγμάτων καὶ λόγων, ἃ πάσης μέθης ταραχωδέστερον τὰς ψυχὰς διατίθῃσιν. Apart from further evidence of the low moral tone of the mime, this passage presents a distinction between ὑπόθεσις and παίγνιον which is not attested elsewhere and which cannot be elucidated with certainty; various guesses are given by Wüst, l.c. 1740. ὑπόθεσις may refer to pieces like *POxy.* 413 (below, § 16), παίγνιον to shorter sketches.

11. The history of the mime in later antiquity and in Rome, when it became the principal form of dramatic representation, need not be gone into here. Wüst deals with it equally fully.

12. Fragments of ten pieces more or less plausibly assigned to mimes or related genres have survived on papyri and ostraca. These are collected in G. Manteuffel's *De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris, ostracis, lapidibusque collectis* (1930); some may also be found in Crusius's later editions of Herodas and in D. L. Page's *Greek Lit. Pap.* For full bibliography see R. A. Pack, *Gr. and Lat. Lit. Texts*, 2nd ed., nos. 1607, 1743, 1745-7, 2434-7.

13. (a) *PLit. Lond.* 50 (Manteuffel no. 18), ii B.C. Grenfell's 'Alexandrian Erotic Fragment', referred to in Germany as 'Des Mädchens Klage'. Part of the monologue of a girl who has quarrelled with her lover; she is now going to his house, at night, to plead for reconciliation, and on the way recounts her love and despair. It is written in a very simple style, in *κοινή*, and apparently in verse. Crusius and Wilamowitz suggested that it is a *ἰλαρωιδία*.

14. (b) *PTeb.* 2 fr. d (Manteuffel no. 20), c. 100 B.C. Similar in subject to *PLit. Lond.* 50, but in prose. The girl is the main speaker, and a *μεθύων* apparently takes part; but the mutilated condition of the papyrus makes details obscure.

15. (c) *PSorb.* inv. 2223 (Manteuffel no. 22; Page no. 74), ii-i B.C. Dialogue between a man who is drunk, in love, and desirous of setting out on a *κῶμος*, and someone else who is trying to restrain him. The rather poetic language is characterization of the drunk man.

16. (d) *POxy.* 413 recto and verso col. 4 (Manteuffel no. 13; Page no. 76), ii A.D. A vulgar farce, set on the coast of India, where a Greek girl is held prisoner by natives; her brother leads a rescue party, which first routs the natives with the help of the private goddess of one of them, *Πορδή*, then when they regroup makes them drunk. The plot is derived, directly or indirectly, from the late melodramas of Euripides, especially the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and the *Helena*. The language is *κοινή*; the natives sometimes speak in their own 'language', which is intended as gibberish. It is in prose, except that the native king, when drunk, speaks four sotadeans, and that the finale seems to have been in trochaic tetrameters. The speakers are indicated by letters, and there are many musical directions (E. Rostrup suggested that this was the musician's copy).

17. (e) *POxy.* 413 verso cols. 1-3 (Manteuffel no. 14; Page no. 77), ii A.D. This is apparently a monologue, except for a few isolated remarks, by a terrifying specimen of the 'weaker sex'. The details of the plot are extremely obscure, but several lurid pictures stand out. At the beginning she proclaims her love for a slave and summons him *ἵνα με βινήσῃ*; he refuses, and she shouts

out, throwing formal grammar to the winds, εἰ δὲ ρ[ε] σκάπτειν ἐκέλευο(ν), εἰ δ' ἀροτριᾶν, [εἰ] δὲ λίθ(ους) βα[σ]τάζ(ειν) τῶι γυναικε(ίῳι) γέν(ει) συντεθραμμ(ένον)—πάντων οὖν τῶν ἐν τῶι ἀγρῶι ἔργων γινομέν(ων)—ὁ ἐμός σοι κύσθ(ος) σκληρότερ(ος) ἐφάνη; He and his lover are to be put to death; apparently they escape and are recaptured. Later we see her plotting to kill ὁ γέρων, presumably her husband; she is going to poison him with the help of a parasite; she thinks her plans go well (176 πάντα ἡμῖν κατὰ γνώμην προκεχώρηκε, ἐὰν ἔτι τὸν γέροντα ἀνέλωμεν), but in the end they seem to be unmasked and defeated. An ingenious attempt to determine the plot exactly was made by S. Sudhaus, *Hermes* xli (1906), 247 sqq., but his results are far from certain. The words extant leave out so much essential to a complete understanding that we must assume either (with Sudhaus) that we have a sketch, an outline which the actor or actors, knowing the general theme and usual treatment, would fill out by improvisation, or (with Rostrup) that we have the words for one part only. In any case the woman's character was clearly of supreme importance (even if it is supposed that several scenes in which she did not appear are missing); she is determined, ruthless, shameless, jealous, an adulteress, and an attempted poisoner; Page's comparison with Medea is not misplaced. The piece is in prose and in κοινή throughout; the language is straightforward and vigorous, almost abrupt. 'This is a fine piece of writing in its class' (Page), and it is a pity we cannot appreciate it better.

18. (f-h) *PLit. Lond.* 97, *PBerol.* 13876, *PVarsov.* 2 (Manteuffel no. 15, no. 18, and in *Papyri Varsovienses* [1935]), ii A.D. These fragments are too brief to reveal anything of their subject, and are attributed to mimes by Manteuffel chiefly because the speakers in them are indicated by letters, a method which was then known in Greek texts only from *POxy.* 413 recto (above, § 16). This reasoning is weakened by its occurrence in *PHib.* 180, iii B.C., which apparently contains Menander.

19. (i) *PLit. Lond.* 52 (Manteuffel no. 21; Page no. 79; also in E. Heitsch, *Gr. Dichterfr. d. röm. Kais.*, no. 9), iii A.D. Dialogue between a girl who has been attacked at a παννυχίς and her nurse and brother or sister; someone ἐπικωμάζει καὶ μεθύει. Despite

obscurities of detail, the plot is clearly a typical New Comedy one, especially reminiscent of Menander's *Epitrepontes*. The piece is in verse, the language κοινή with a few poetical words.

20. (j) *PBerol.* 13927 (Manteuffel no. 17), v-vi A.D. This is a list of mime-titles and stage properties required for them. The legible titles are οὐ χρ(ε)ία ῥημάτων (requiring a lyre, a pig, a puppy, and a soup-ladle), τὸ τῶν μαλακῶν (requiring aprons and bandages), τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου (requiring ἀκτῖνας), τὸ τῶν Γόθθων (requiring a green substance to represent a river, a τρηβυνηρη [?] for the river, and Gothic costumes, male and female), and Λευκίππη (nothing to do with Achilles Tatius' novel, as Manteuffel thinks). Among other props mentioned are ship's tackle, a lamp, a cowl, food, barber's equipment, and blacksmith's tools.

21. The main point which emerges from all this is the close relationship with everyday life in the humbler levels of society. The situations described are set in the background and atmosphere in which the audience lived (even the apparently romantic setting of *POxy.* 413 recto is brought back to this by the treatment). This implies the acceptance of what is thought indecent in more bourgeois circles. These are the elements of the definition of mime preserved by Diomedes (Kaibel, *Com. gr. fr.*, 61), μῖμός ἐστι μίμησις βίου τὰ τε συγκεχωρημένα καὶ τὰ ἀσυγχώρητα περιέχων. With regard to form, the normal vehicle was prose, and even when verse was employed, the language was still the spoken language of the period. The mime was intended for acting, at first by one performer, later by several. Costumes and scenery, if used at all in early times, must have been very simple. Before adaptations of κωμικαὶ ὑποθέσεις were made and probably to a considerable extent even after, the important factor was not plot, but ἡθοποιία, the delineation of character. At first improvised, later written down for the benefit of the performers, the mime rose into literature only exceptionally, and in its pure form, only once.

22. This was in the case of Sophron of Syracuse, a contemporary of Euripides, who, it seems, achieved his fame thanks to Plato's interest in his work, of which he found manuscripts in

Sicily. Though Plato the philosopher and moralist would doubtless have condemned Sophron as a corrupting influence (one need mention only *Fr.* 24), Plato the man, himself a brilliant artist of everyday scenes, was impressed by the mimes, and introduced them to Athens. Aristotle and others carried on the tradition thus begun, and Sophron passed into the Alexandrian canon, being studied by grammarians and ultimately receiving a life in the *Suda*. Unfortunately he did not survive the Dark Ages, and we have only two papyri and numerous short fragments quoted for their grammatical interest (G. Kaibel, *Com. gr. fr.*, 2nd ed. with Addenda by K. Latte, 1958, also in A. Olivieri, *Framm. d. comm. gr. e d. mimo nella Sicilia e nella Magna Grecia* ii, 2nd ed., 1947; cf. A. Koerte, *RE* s.v. and W. Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* i. 654–8). What is known of him and his work corresponds closely to what has been gathered about the sub-literary mime. His works are generally called *μῖμοι*, but he is described as a *γελωτοποιός* in *Vit. Pl.* p. 7. 10 Did. The division of his mimes into *γυναικεῖοι* and *ἀνδρεῖοι* may be compared with our knowledge of the *μαγωιδοί* etc. (above, § 5). He wrote in Doric, his native dialect, and in prose. His subjects are all realistic in the sense defined above. Further detail can be attained only by uncertain hypotheses.

## (2) *Ἰαμβος*

23. Like *μῖμος*, the word *ἰαμβος* is of doubtful etymology (from *ἰάπτειν* according to some, of Asiatic origin according to others). It occurs first in Archil. 249 ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυσιμελής, ὠταῖρε, δάμναται πόθος / καί μ' οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει.

24. The *ἰαμβος* emerges as a literary genre in the Ionian islands in the seventh century. It is one form of the individualistic, engaged poetry which resulted from the social revolution following the development of trade and industry. For sympotic poems and military exhortations the elegiac couplet, with its reminiscence of the epic, was employed, but for personal love, ridicule, and satire the most *λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων* (Arist. *Po.* 1449<sup>a</sup>24), τὸ *ἰαμβεῖον*, the iambic trimeter was employed. In this Archilochos describes a lover (40), in this he mocks those who seek wealth

and power (15), in this he attacks Lykambes (42). Trochaic tetrameters and epodic combinations of metre were used for the same purposes, but the trimeter was the characteristic form and from it the genre took its name. The language was, with few exceptions, the vernacular of the time and place, in so far as a vernacular can be used in literature.

25. Beside Archilochos there stands, for us at least, only the lesser figure of Semonides, also an islander, with his long-drawn-out satire on women. There is then a gap of a century, and a jump to the Ionian mainland. Hipponax, a native of Ephesos and an exile in Klazomenai, lived in the second half of the sixth century. His work is excellently summed up by his latest editor, Olivier Masson: 'Hipponax est essentiellement un poète réaliste. Il accentue le mouvement commencé par Archiloque pour détacher la poésie de la mythologie et de l'épopée, et la faire pénétrer dans la vie quotidienne et les préoccupations individuelles. L'invective, les descriptions triviales, la parodie, jouent un grand rôle dans l'œuvre.' In form too he took the work of Archilochos a stage further: instead of the *ἰαμβεῖον*, he mostly employed the *χωλίαμβος*, that peculiar variation of the trimeter in which the final *υυ* is replaced by *-υ*.<sup>1</sup> This *δαινὸς μέτρος* (Demetr. *Eloc.* 251), with its limping close that calls a sneering halt to the line, is admirably suited to Hipponax' subjects; the verse becomes *καὶ τραχύτερον* according to Hephaestion (5. 19) when the third *anceps* is long, so that it ends *---υ* (the so-called *ἰσχιόρρωξ*). Hipponax' language is likewise the vernacular of sixth-century Ionia (his use of foreign words has been much exaggerated, cf. Masson pp. 31 sq.).

26. After Hipponax the *ἰάμβος* is dead. The verse is taken over by Solon and Attic drama for other purposes, but the genre disappears with the society in which alone it flourished.

### (3) *Μιμιάμβος*

27. One of the characteristic features of Hellenistic poetry is the mixture of genres which in earlier times had been separate.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not intend this as a historical description of the genesis of the choliamb.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in general W. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verst. röm. Lit.*, 202 sqq.



So for example Kallimachos mingled the traditional hymn with political writing; so Theokritos took elements from epic, mime, country songs, etc., to form his new bucolic poems. This was also a time when various older metres, long since obsolete, were revived:<sup>1</sup> thus apart from the choliamb, Aeolic verses were used by Theokritos, Kallimachos, and others. Further, at a time when the regional dialects had virtually died out, and the *κουνή*, basically a debased Attic with Ionic influences, had become universal, poetry utilized the various dialects of the past: epic, Doric, Aeolic, and Ionic.

28. It is therefore extremely typical of his age when Herodas takes over the content of the *μῆμος* and expresses it in the choliamb and Ionic of the *ἱαμβος*. We have exact parallels for each part of this. Theokritos borrowed from the *μῆμος* in his *Συρακόσiai ἢ Ἀδωνιάζουσαι* (15), *Αἰσχίνας καὶ Θυνώνιχος* (14), and *Φαρμακεύτρια* (2), but used the hexameter and Doric. Kallimachos used the metre and language of Hipponax in his *Ἰαμβοί*, but his subjects are quite different—morals, literature, mythology, etc. The relative chronology of the three poets is not sufficiently certain to determine who did each first.<sup>2</sup>

29. We have not enough details about the mime to be able to say whether in every case Herodas took over a theme which had been or was currently treated in mime. Only in the case of the 5th poem can we prove this; for the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 6th there are indications of varying degrees of strength (see introductory notes to each poem). In particular we cannot judge his indebtedness to Sophron. But, however this may be, the treatment is invariably that of the mime. The scenes are houses, a courtroom, a temple, a shop—all part of urban life; the characters are from the urban proletariat; the subjects—the temptation of a woman to be unfaithful, the prosecution of a sailor by a pimp for assault, the punishment of a delinquent schoolboy, a sacrifice and visit to a temple, the punishment of a favourite slave, the supply of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Maas, *Gr. Metre*, § 15.

<sup>2</sup> It has been generally assumed (e.g. Wilamowitz, *Die gr. Lit. d. Alt.* [*Kultur der Gegenwart* i. 8, 3. Aufl. 1912], 212) that Herodas was the latest, but there is no real proof of this.

baubons—all are realistic; everywhere the emphasis is on character rather than plot.

30. Given this, it is not surprising that, when Herodas was rediscovered, some should have regarded him as an 'ancient realist', a forerunner of the literary movement which was in vogue in the 1890s. What is surprising is that this view should have been all but universally<sup>1</sup> held till the 1920s and that it still appears in popular works on Greek literature. The fundamental error in this view is that the content is evaluated without reference to the form—the metre and language. For a work of literature to be realistic in any meaningful sense, not only must the content be realistic, but the language in which it is written must be that which the characters would use in similar situations in real life. And this is simply not the case with Herodas: his characters belong to the third century, but their language is an imperfect imitation of that spoken in Asia Minor (which is not the scene of at least one of the poems) in the sixth.<sup>2</sup> The contrast with the non-literary mime and with Sophron is complete.

31. A number of factors renders difficult exact discussion of Herodas' language, as of that of most Hellenistic poets: (1) the language of Hipponax himself is by no means free from difficulty, both from paucity of material and from possible or certain corruption in the text; (2) we do not know the state of the text of Hipponax which Herodas used; (3) the text of Herodas is not free from corruption. However the general picture is clear: the dialect is basically the Eastern Ionic of Hipponax, but there are a few incongruous features. Herodas' grasp of the dialect was clearly not perfect, and there are some hyperionisms; conversely the common Greek or Attic forms have occasionally been used in preference to the Ionic (the papyrus presents a fair number of similar cases which I regard as normalization by scribes): at least one form used, *νν*, is Doric. Similarly in the

<sup>1</sup> The one exception, and a significant one, was Włamowitz: see *NGG* 1896, 221 (*Kl. Schr.* ii. 108), *Textg. d. gr. Buk.* 19 Anm. 1, *Die gr. Lit. d. Alt.* 212.

<sup>2</sup> The contrary has often been asserted, but is definitely false. First, the many variant forms in morphology and syntax (a list in D. Bo, *La lingua di Er.*, 38 sqq.) show that his language is a literary one, not a vernacular. Secondly, Ionic, like the other dialects, did not exist as a separate entity in the third century.

vocabulary there are many words, especially rare ones, which recur in Hipponax, and undoubtedly if we had a complete text of the latter there would be many more; but on the other hand there are many non-Ionic words.<sup>1</sup>

32. With regard to metre the position is similar: the choliambic of Hipponax and Herodas are basically the same. However Herodas, whether from ignorance or deliberately, did not observe Wilamowitz's and Knox's laws on word-end at the end of the verse, which Hipponax, with the other early iambographers, observes strictly. He is also rather freer with resolutions. Two apparently unusual features of Herodas' verses, choriambic anaclassis and violent synaloephe, are probably taken from Hipponax, though if the surviving fragments are representative Herodas has greatly extended their use.<sup>2</sup>

33. Other sources are of minor importance. Like any other educated person of his age Herodas was familiar with Homer and Attic literature, as well as the Ionic he must have studied closely. Comedy, especially the *νέα*, where similar characters tend to have stock attributes, was an important general influence.<sup>3</sup> The court speeches of the orators provided some material for 2. In the case of close similarity of idea or expression with other Hellenistic writers, it is always doubtful which is borrowing from which, if both are not borrowing from a common source.

34. A *μῦθος* was generally recited by one person, who spoke the various parts (§ 7). The same is probably true of Herodas' *μυμλαμβοι*.<sup>4</sup> Some have held that they are pure *Buchpoesie*,<sup>5</sup> claiming that the changes of speaker would lead to confusion and that the poems would not be immediately comprehensible if

<sup>1</sup> On Herodas' language see Appendix II and Indexes.

<sup>2</sup> On Herodas' metre see Appendices II, III, and Indexes.

<sup>3</sup> This was stressed by Headlam, and probably overstressed, as Herodas' characters are more than collections of traditional attributes—as indeed are those of comedy.

<sup>4</sup> 'Gott verzeih's denen,' said Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xxxiv [1899], 208), 'die sich das [Herodas' poetry] wirklich gespielt denken.' This odd idea, held by among others Crusius, Sitzler, Gerhard, and Terzaghi, is refuted in detail by Hertling 6-22, and Ph. E. Legrand, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* iv (1902), 5-35.

<sup>5</sup> So Puccioni. I have not been able to see the papers of G. Pasquali, *Xenia Romana* (1907), 15-27, and K. Fürst, *Listy Filol.* xxxiv (1907), 6-22, 93-101, who also take this view.

recited. The former argument does little justice to the capabilities of a talented performer. Only in 5 are there more than three speakers, and there the fourth has only two short phrases; distinct voices for each, helped out by facial expression and gesture, could easily be produced. The second argument is also dubious: with an educated audience, aware to some extent of what they were to hear, there would surely be little difficulty—the odes of Pindar and Aeschylus after all were sung and presumably understood. Probably the author intended his work to be recited, by himself in view of 8, at gatherings of literary people, perhaps symposia, the related 6 and 7 at least on the same or consecutive evenings.

35. The picture that has so far emerged of Herodas is of a typical Hellenistic poet, one who treats a subject not previously dealt with in poetry and remote from and therefore interesting to an audience of intelligentsia, one who combines this with a traditional form, one who revives an obsolete metre and dialect, one whose poems are short: in brief, a fitting companion for his contemporaries Theokritos and Kallimachos. Yet in various current works one will find it stated that Herodas stood apart from the trends of his day, indeed that he was in open opposition to and direct conflict with Kallimachos and/or Theokritos. These theories, in so far as they do not derive from a lingering belief in the 'ancient realist' view, are based on the 8th poem, which has been largely omitted from the preceding discussion. Its content is quite different from that of the others, as it is a personal declaration by Herodas (put in the form of a dream and its interpretation) of his confidence that his poetry will win recognition, despite his critics. Unfortunately the text is much mutilated and the exact nature of his claims is uncertain; but it seems that his critics are mentioned only in general terms. To identify them with known figures like Kallimachos and Theokritos is to fly in the face of the nature of Herodas' poetry. Rather one would expect his critics to be the same people as those who are known to have attacked Kallimachos. The controversies of the latter are not a subject to be gone into here, but to all appearances he and Herodas would have been allies, not opponents, in any literary dispute.

36. Herodas is not an author of outstanding importance or a poet of the first rank. His expectation of fame was not fulfilled. His works were circulating in Egypt in the second century A.D., they were read by the younger Pliny and a source of Athenaios, they were utilized by an anthologist, a paroemiographer, and a grammarian: a meagre *Nachleben* which had to suffice him for more than two millennia. The neglect of the ancient world has been partially atoned for by the attention of the modern. Perhaps we are better able to find some interest in his work; at the least, Hellenistic poets have not survived in such numbers that we can afford to overlook one.

### III. THE TEXT

1. The poems of Herodas are preserved almost entirely by only one papyrus (P); another papyrus (O) and the indirect tradition (see above, I, § 1) add only a little.

2. P. *PLit. Lond.* 96 (British Museum Pap. 135, now Egerton Pap. 1), acquired by the British Museum in 1889. Written in a small, plain bookhand, with corrections by the first hand and by at least one other hand;<sup>1</sup> text and corrections are apparently all second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The end is lost, and what remains is damaged at various points by rubbing<sup>3</sup> and worm-holes. Forty-six columns, containing poems 1 to 9 init., are preserved or have been restored from fragments, 8–8.5 cm. high, the first fourteen with 15–16 lines each, the rest with 17–19 lines each. The original length can only be guessed at, but can hardly have been less than sixty columns (assuming that it contained the two poems otherwise known and that these and 9 were of similar length to the complete poems) and may have been much more. Change of

<sup>1</sup> It is probably impossible to assign the corrections accurately to the various hands, and no attempt is made to do so in this edition; if anyone is to do it, he must work from the original, not the facsimile. The corrections are of varied character—correction of slips, genuine variants, glosses, false suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Kenyon and Milne ascribed the text to the first century, but it seems to be certainly later, and closely resembles *POxy.* 221 and *PLit. Lond.* 140, both second century.

<sup>3</sup> Infra-red and quartz-lamp photographs, made at the suggestion of Professor W. G. Arnott, have failed to bring up any of the writing.

speaker is indicated by *paragraphos* (spaces between words also occur inconsistently). A facsimile of cols. 1-41 and frs. 1-11 was published by the British Museum in 1892; a facsimile of cols. 42-6 (as restored by Kenyon) and frs. 31-60 is included in Nairn's edition (1904); photographs of cols. 42-6 (as restored by Knox et al.) appear in Cataudella's edition (1948); individual columns are reproduced in various editions and palaeographical handbooks.

3. O. *POxy.* 2326. Written in a plain bookhand, ascribed to the late second century by Lobel. Contains the ends of 8. 67-75 (identified by A. Barigazzi, *Mus. Helv.* xii [1955], 113 sq.). Photograph in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xxii (1954), plate I.

4. P was written fairly carelessly; a good number of slips were picked up by the various correctors, more by modern scholars. They comprise the usual types of error—dittography, haplography, transposition, misreading of letters as similar ones, and a large residue which can be described only as proof of human fallibility. There is a certain amount of dialectal normalization. *ι* is generally written for *ει*. *Paragraphoi* are not infrequently omitted, seldom wrongly inserted. Serious corruption is infrequent, but when it occurs often incurable. From the little evidence available O seems to have been inferior to P. The indirect tradition gives one improvement over P (8. 60) and partial confirmation of a conjecture (1. 16); otherwise it shows only the relentless progress of creeping corruption.

5. The text in the present edition is based on a fresh examination of P; this has produced no new readings (though I am able to report some by Mr. P. J. Parsons), but a precision of the marking of gaps and of doubtful and imperfect letters has resulted.<sup>1</sup> The readings of O were checked from the photograph in the *ed. pr.* Those of the indirect tradition were taken from the standard editions. All major changes from the text of P are indicated in the

<sup>1</sup> For the benefit of any future Severyns of Herodas the exact method of preparing the text was this: a copy of Cataudella's edition was checked against the facsimile of P, errors were corrected and other changes introduced, and a completely new apparatus was constructed; the emended text and apparatus were typed; the typescript was checked against P itself; and this corrected typescript served as copy.

apparatus; some lesser ones and some unimportant slips corrected in P itself are listed in Appendix I; small unacknowledged supplements are due to Kenyon in the *ed. pr.* Many corrections were made simultaneously by several scholars after the publication of P; I list up to three, but when there are more say simply *pler.* In the text only such conjectures and supplements as seem certain are admitted; some rather less certain are recorded in the apparatus; others are mentioned, if at all, in the commentary.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. This is not a complete bibliography of Herodas, but a list of the more important editions and general articles which I have cited without exact references. Articles which deal with only one passage are mentioned, if necessary, in the commentary on the passage. For works on the problems of 8 see the introductory note to that poem, for those on language and metre see Appendices II and III.

2. Before the discovery of P the known fragments were collected by, among others, F. W. Schneidewin, *Delectus poesis Graecae* (1838), 231-4, A. Meineke in C. Lachmann's ed. of Babr. (1845), 148-52, and Th. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici Graeci*<sup>2</sup> (1853), 621-4, ii<sup>3</sup> (1866), 794-7, ii<sup>4</sup> (1882), 509-12; and discussed by, among others, G. Bernhardt, *Grundr. d. gr. Lit.* ii<sup>1</sup> (1845), 382 sq., ii. 1<sup>2</sup> (1856), 476 sq., ii. 1<sup>3</sup> (1867), 549 sq., F. W. Schneidewin, *Rh. Mus.* v (1847), 292-4, and B. ten Brink, *Philol.* vi (1851), 354-6.

### 3. EDITIONS:

F. G. Kenyon, *Classical texts from papyri in the British Museum*, 1891; the *editio princeps*, basically a transcript of P, with only the most obvious corrections.

W. G. Rutherford, 1891; a mass of conjectures, some correct, the majority rash and ill-considered.

In periodicals: F. Bücheler, *Rh. Mus.* xli (1891), 632-6 (1 only); A. Gercke and O. Günther, *Woch. kl. Phil.* 1891, 1320-3 (3 only); G. Kaibel, *Hermes* xxvi (1891), 580-92 (4 and 6 only); H. van Herwerden, *Mnem.* xx (1892), 41-98.

F. Bücheler, 1892, with commentary; the first attempt at sober interpretation of the whole.

O. Crusius, Teubner text, 1892<sup>1</sup>, 1894<sup>2</sup>, 1898 and 1900<sup>3</sup>, 1905<sup>4</sup>, 1914<sup>5</sup>; the standard text of its day, now superseded; marked by faith in the correctness of the first hand of P.

O. Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des H.*, 1892; the first detailed commentary, especially important for the elucidation of proverbs.

R. Meister, 1893, with commentary; mainly linguistic, and despite an inevitable degree of obsolescence and some rigidity and perversity, still fundamental in that field.

J. A. Nairn, 1904, with commentary; despite weaknesses (devastatingly exposed by Headlam, *CR* xviii [1904], 263-9, 308-16) useful as a basic explanation of the text and summary of previous views.

W. Headlam and A. D. Knox, 1922, with commentary; a learned ed. on the grand scale, for which Headlam's collections of material on many topics ensures a permanent value; but these often contribute little to the understanding of Herodas, and the wood cannot be seen for the trees. Knox, in addition to editing Headlam's uncompleted work, contributed much to the

text, especially in 8. The text is fully supplemented, according to the fashion of the times, and even worse there is no typographical indication of supplements.<sup>1</sup>

P. Groeneboom, 1922, 1-6 only, with commentary; the best commentary, with a generally sensible and intelligent discussion of problems; textually less assured. Unfortunately Groeneboom could not know Headlam-Knox, and did not publish the proposed second volume.

N. Terzaghi, 1925, with commentary; with few exceptions a servile repetition of Crusius in 1-7, of Herzog in 8.

O. Crusius, text and German transl. revised by R. Herzog, 1926; a rather individual text, some useful notes and illustrations.

J. A. Nairn, Budé ed. (transl. by L. Laloy), 1928; not one of the best texts of this series.

A. D. Knox, Loeb ed., 1929; embodies further work on the text by Knox, helped by H. J. M. Milne and others, and in general the best text, though some of Knox's ideas are arbitrary, there are still too many supplements, and the apparatus is not well organized. The transl. is unhelpful.

Q. Cataudella, 1948; cuts down the number of supplements, but is otherwise undistinguished.

G. Puccioni, 1950, with commentary; comes closer to a critical text; notes sometimes useful, but too brief to help in major problems, and sometimes ill-judged.

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O. A. Danielsson, *Woch. kl. Phil.* 1891, 1323-7, 1353-7.

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<sup>1</sup> This is not a merely theoretical fault, but has deceived at least one distinguished scholar: D. L. Page, *Sapph. and Alc.*, 222 n. 2, quotes 8. 31 as evidence for a linen κύπασσις; λινέην is a mere guess of Knox's.

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HERODAS  
MIMIAMI



# 1. ΠΡΟΚΥΚΛΙ[Σ] Η ΜΑΣΤΡΟΠΟΣ

col. 1

## ΜΗΤΡΙΧΗ

Θ[ρείσ]σα, ἀράσσει τὴν θύρην τις· οὐκ ὄψι  
μ[ή] τ[ις] παρ' ἡμέων ἐξ ἀγροικίης ἦκει;

## ΘΡΕΙΣΣΑ

τίς τ[ήν] θύρην; ΓΥΛΛΙΣ ἐγῶδε. ΘΡ. τίς σύ; δειμαίνεις  
ἄσπον προσελθεῖν; ΓΥ. ἦν ἰδού, πάρεμι' ἄσπον.

<ΘΡ.> τίς δέ εἰς> σύ; <ΓΥ.> Γυλλίς, ἡ Φιλαινίδος μήτηρ. 5  
ἄγγελον ἔνδον Μητρίχηι παρεῦσάν με.

ΘΡ. καλεῖ— <ΜΗ.> τίς ἐστιν; <ΘΡ.> Γυλλίς. <ΜΗ.> ἀμμή  
Γυλλίς.

στρέψον τι, δούλη. τίς σε μοῖρ' ἔπεισ' ἐλθεῖν,  
Γυλλίς, πρὸς ἡμέας; τί σὺ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους;  
ἦδη γάρ εἰσι πέντε κου, δοκέω, [μ]ῆν[ε]ς 10  
ἐξ οὗ σε, Γυλλίς, οὐδ' ὄναρ, μὰ τὰς Μοίρας,  
πρὸς τὴν θύρην ἐλθοῦσαν εἶδέ τις ταύτην.

ΓΥ. μακρὴν ἀποικέω, τέκνον, ἐν δὲ τῆς λαύρης  
ὁ πηλὸς ἄχρῃς ἰγνύων προσέστηκεν,  
ἐγὼ δὲ δραίνω μυῖ' ὅσον· τὸ γὰρ γῆρας 15  
ἡμέας καθέλκει καὶ σκιὴ παρέστηκεν.

col. 2

[ΜΗ.] ...].ε καὶ μὴ τοῦ χρόνου καταψεύδεο·  
.....]. γὰρ, Γυλλί, κητέρους ἄγχειν.

1 suppl. Rutherford, Bücheler <sup>η</sup> θυραν P οψι P: corr. Herwerden 2 .[.].

[. .] P: suppl. Blass ἡμέας Rutherford <sup>γρ</sup> αποικησ P 3 .[. .] P: suppl. pler.  
5 εἰς> Rutherford <sup>γρ</sup> φιλαίνου P me teste (φιλαιν[ε]ου teste Kenyon), ·νιδος· in mg.  
6 παρουναν P: corr. Blass 7 diuis. Danielsson, Herwerden αμμία P: corr.

Rutherford, Bücheler 9 π[. .]ρ P <sup>ροσ</sup> θεο . . . σ P: suppl. Rutherford

10 [μ]ῆν[ε]ς Kenyon 12 ταυτη[ς] P 13 ταισλαυραισ P: corr. Rutherford  
15-16 cit. Stob. 4. 50b. 52 (v. 1041 Hense) 15 μυι, οσον P: μυ(ι)οσων  
Stob.: μυσοσον P in mg. 16 καὶ Valckenaer: χη P: κῆν Stob. παρεστήκη

Stob. 17 καταψευδου P <sup>ε</sup>  
<sup>σο</sup>

- ΓΥ. σίλλ[α]μρε· ταῦτα τῆς νεωτέρης ὕμν  
 πρόσσεστιν. <ΜΗ.> ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτο μή σε θερμήνηι. 20
- <ΓΥ.> ἄλλ' ὦ τέκνον, κόσον τιν' ἤδη χηραίνεις  
 χρόνον μόνη τρύχουσα τὴν μίαν κοίτην;  
 ἐξ οὗ γὰρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐστάλη Μάνδρις  
 δέκ' εἰσὶ μῆνες, κούδὲ γράμμα σοι πέμπει,  
 ἄλλ' ἐκλέλησται καὶ πέπωκεν ἐκ καινῆς. 25
- κεῖ δ' ἐστὶν οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ πάντα,  
 ὅσσ' ἔστι κου καὶ γίνετ', ἔστ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ·  
 πλοῦτος, παλαιστρη, δύναμι[ς], εὐδίη, δόξα,  
 θέαι, φιλόσοφοι, χρυσίον, νεηνίσκοι,  
 θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστός,  
 Μουσηῖον, οἶνος, ἀγαθὰ πάντ' ὅσ' ἂν χρήζηι, 30  
 γυναικες, ὁκόσους οὐ μὰ τὴν Ἰαίδεω Κούρην  
 ἀστέρης ἐνεγκεῖν οὐραν[ὸ]ς κεκαύχεται,  
 τῇν δ' ὄψιν οἶαι πρὸς Πάρι[ν] κοτ' ὥρμησαν  
 .... κριθῆναι καλλονήν—λάθοιμ' αὐτάς 35  
 .....]. κο[ι]τὴν οὖν τάλαινα[α] σὺ ψυχὴν  
 ἔ[χ]ο[υ]σα θάλπεις τὸν δίφρον; κατ' οὖν λήσεις  
 .....] καί σευ τὸ ὄριον τέφρη κάψει.  
 .....]νον ἄλλῃ κῆμέρας μετάλλαξον  
 τὸ]ν νοῦν δὴ ἢ τρεῖς, κίλαρὴ κατάστηθι 40  
 (.).....ῖς ἄλλον· νηὺς μίης ἐπ' ἀγκύρης  
 οὐκ] ἀσφαλὴς ὀρμεῦσα· κείνος ἦν ἔλθῃ  
 .....]...[.ν[.] μηδὲ εἰς ἀναστήσηι  
 ἡ]μέας .... τοδινα δὲ ἄγριος χειμῶν  
 ..[.....].. κούδὲ εἰς οἶδεν 45  
 .....]ν ἡμέων ἄστατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις  
 .....]..λη[.]ς. ἀλλὰ μήτις ἔστηκε  
 σύνεγγυς ἡμῖν; <ΜΗ.> οὐδὲ ε[ἶ]ς. <ΓΥ.> ἄκουσον δῆ 50  
 col. 4

20 <ΜΗ.> Hicks, Crusius 25 καινησ P λικος κυνησ P in mg. 31 χρήζη<ις>

34 .νδοψιν P: τῇν Kenyon; sscr. τὸ δ' (ε)ἶδος Headlam 35 θεαῖ  
 κριθῆναι Bücheler 36 e.g. ]α 37 .]...]. P: suppl. Rutherford,  
 Bücheler, Blass κατοῦνλησεισ P 38 ωρι[μ]ον P 40 .]...]. P: suppl.  
 Hicks, Ellis 42 ...]. . . . . ησ P: suppl. Hicks 44 ἡ]μέας Ludwich

46 τὸ μέλλο]ν Headlam, Hardie, Bücheler ανθρωποισ ημων (sscr. corr. ex ανθρωπων)  
 P 48 ημων P



ἄ σοι χρ[εῖ]ζουσ' ὦδ' ἔβην ἀπαγγεῖλαι·  
 ὁ Ματαλ[ί]νης τῆς Πατακίου Γρύλλος, 50  
 ὁ πέντε νικέων ἄθλα, παῖς μὲν ἐν Πυθοί,  
 δις δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοὺς ἴουλον ἀνθεῖντας,  
 ἄνδρας δὲ Πίσση δις καθεῖλε πυκτεύσας,  
 πλουτέων τὸ καλόν, οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
 κινέων, ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς, 55  
 ἰδὼν σε καθόδῳ τῆς Μίσης ἐκύμηνε  
 τὰ σπλάγχχ' ἔρωτι καρδίην ἀνοιστρηθείς,  
 καί μεν οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἐπ' ἡμέρην λείπει  
 τὸ δῶμα, [τέ]κνον, ἀλλὰ μεν κατακλαίει  
 καὶ ταταλ[ί]ζει καὶ ποθέων ἀποθνήσκει. 60  
 ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη, μίαν ταύτην  
 ἀμαρτίην δὸς τῇ θεῷ· κατάρτησον  
 σαυτήν, τὸ [γ]ῆρας μὴ λάθῃ σε προσβλέψαν.  
 καὶ δοιὰ πρήξεις· ἦδε[.].[.].[.].[.].[.]. 65  
 δοθήσεται τι μέζον ἢ δοκεῖς· σκέψαι,  
 πείσθητί μεν· φιλέω σε, να[ί] μὰ τὰς Μοίρας.  
 ΜΗ. Γυλλί, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαμβλύνει  
 τὸν νοῦν· μὰ τὴν γὰρ Μάνδριος κατὰπλωσιν  
 καὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, ταῦτ' ἐγὼ [έ]ξ ἄλλης  
 γυναικὸς οὐκ ἂν ἡδέως ἐπήκουσα, 70  
 χωλὴν δ' αἰδεῖν χῶλ' ἂν ἐξεπαίδευσα  
 καὶ τῆς θύρης τὸν οὐδὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι.  
 σὺ δ' αὖτις ἔς με μηδὲ ἐν<α>, φίλη, τοῖον  
 φέρουσα χῶρει μῦθον· ὃν δὲ γρήμῃσι  
 πρέπει γυναιξὶ τῆς νέης ἀπάγγελλε· 75  
 τὴν Πυθέω δὲ Μητρίχην ἔα θάλπειν  
 τὸν δίφρον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνγελᾷ τις εἰς Μάνδριν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τούτων, φασί, τῶν λόγων Γυλλίς  
 δεῖται· Θρείσσα, τὴν μελαινίδ' ἔκτ[ρ]ῳ ψον

col. 5

65

70

75

49 χρ[εῖ]ζουσ' Hardie, Bücheler  
 γυλλοσ P, γρυλ in mg.

50 μᾶτᾱκ[ . ]νησ P, ι suppl. Bücheler  
 67-8 νοῦν cit. Stob. 4. 50b. 59 (v. 1043 Hense)

67 γυλλί P: γύναι Stob.  
 Blass

69 [ . ]ξ uel ξ P  
 74 γρημῃσι P: corr. Meister

71 χωλον P  
 75 ταισνεαισ P: corr. Rutherford

76 [[δι]]υθεω P  
 P in mg.

77 [[μητρίχη]]ν P  
 τονδιφρον

78 αλλουδε P  
 χι α

79 φυσει P  
 λ ευ

κήκτημόρους τρεῖς ἐγχέασ[α τ]οῦ [ἀ]κρήτου  
καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπιστάξασα δὸς πιεῖ[ν]. ΓΥ. καλῶς.

<ΜΗ.> τῇ, Γυλλί, πίθι. <ΓΥ.> δεῖξον οὐ[.].....πα[.]  
πεῖσουσά σ' ἡλθον, ἀλλ' ἔκη[τι] τῶν ἱρῶν.

<ΜΗ.> ὦν οὐνεκέν μοι, Γυλλί, ὦνα[

<ΓΥ.> οσσοῦ γένοιτο, μᾶ, τέκνον π[.].....

ἡδύς γε· ναὶ Δήμητρα, Μητρ[ί]χην, τούτ[ου]

ἡδίων' οἶνον Γυλλίς οὐ πέ[π]ωκέ[ν] [κω.

σὺ δ' εὐτύχει μοι, τέκνον, ἀσ[φα]λί[ζ]ε[ν] [δὲ

σαυτήν· ἐμοὶ δὲ Μυρτάλη τε κ[αὶ] Σ[ί]μη

νέαι μένοιεν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐνπνέη[ι] Γυλλίς.

## 2. ΠΟΡΝΟΒΟΣΚΟΣ

### ΒΑΤΤΑΡΟΣ

ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῆς γενῆς μ[ε]ν οὐκ ἔστέ

ἡμέων κριταὶ δῆκουθεν οὐδὲ [τ]ῆς δόξης,

οὐδ' εἰ Θαλῆς μὲν οὗτος ἀξίην τῇ[ν] νηῦν

ἔχει ταλάντων πέντ', ἐγὼ δὲ μ[η]δ' ἄρτους,

....].περέξει Βάτταρόν [τι π]ημήνας·

....]....κ.ι...[.]ωλυκον γὰρ [...].κλαυσαι

....].ιησομαστοσηιασ[.]νχωρη

....].σμε.ι... ἐστὶ τῆς [πό]λιος κήγώ,

... ζῶμεν οὐκ ὥς βουλό[με<σ>]θ' ἀλλ' ὥς ἡμέας

....].ρος ἔλκει. προστάτην [...].ει Μέννην

ἐγὼ δ' Ἀρι[στοφ]ῶντα· πύξ [νε]νίκηκεν

Μέν]νης, [Ἀρι]στοφῶν δὲ κ[...]. νῦν ἄγχει·

80 fin. suppl. Palmer, Crusius 82 τῇ P οὐ[.]π... δι(.) (uel μα uel  
λλα)παχ[ leg. Parsons 83 ἔκη[τι] Crusius 86 Μητρ[ί]χην τούτ[ου] Milne,  
Bell 87 πέ[π]ωκέ[ν] [κω Blass, Danielsson 88 ἀσ[φα]λί[ζ]ε[ν] [δὲ Headlam  
(-ε]ν Schmidt) 89 σαυτήν, σ corr. ex τ, P κ[αὶ] Σ[ί]μη Nicholson, Bücheler

3 τῇ[ν] P: expl. Blass, Herwerden 4 μ[η]δ' Crusius 5 ]ν P ut uid.  
[...].ημ...ασ P: suppl. Nicholson, Bücheler 6 πολλο]ν γε καὶ δ(ε) Milne  
[τ]ώλυκόν γὰρ [ᾶν] κλαύσαι Knox 9 καὶ ζῶμεν Headlam βουλο[...].θα[κ]-  
αλλωσ P: corr. Crusius 10 ὁ καὶ ρός Stadtmüller [ἐχ](ε) Milne νεμειν P in  
mg. 11 ἐγὼ δ' Ἀρι[στοφ]ῶντα Headlam 12 Μέν]νης, [Ἀρι]στοφῶν Crusius  
κ[ῆ]τι Bücheler

...]η ἔστ' [ἀλη]θέα ταῦτα, το[ῦ ἡ]λίου δύντος  
 ...].θετωσ[...ων ἄνδρες .[...ι]χε χλαῖναν  
 ...].νωσε. .ιω προστάτ[ηι τ]εθώρηγμαι 15  
 ...]. .χ...ν "ἐξ Ἀκης ἐλήλουθα  
 πυρ]οὺς ἄγων κῆστησα τὴν κακὴν λιμόν,"  
 ....]ε π[ό]ρ]νας ἐκ Τύρου· τί τῶι δῆμωι  
 ..... ; ] δωρεὴν γὰρ οὗτ' οὗτος πυρούς  
 .....]θιν οὗτ' ἐγὼ πάλιν κείνην. 20  
 εἰ δ' οὐνεκεν πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ χλαῖναν  
 ἔχει τριῶν μνέων Ἀττικῶν, ἐγὼ δ' οἰκέω  
 ἐν γῇ τρίβωνα καὶ ἀσκέρας σαπρὰς ἔλκων,  
 βίηι τιν' ἄξει τῶν ἐμῶν ἔμ' οὐ πείσας,  
 καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός, οἷχετ' ἡμιν ἡ ἀλεωρή 25  
 τῆς πόλιος, ἄνδρες, κἀπ' ὅτ<ε>ωι σεμνύνεσθε,  
 τὴν αὐτονομίην ὑμέων Θαλῆς λύσει.  
 ὃν χρῆν ἑαυτὸν ὅστις ἐστὶ κακ ποίου  
 πηλοῦ πεφύρητ' εἰδὸτ' ὥς ἐγὼ ζώειν  
 τῶν δημοτέων φρίσσοντα καὶ τὸν ἥκιστον. 30  
 νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐόντες τῆς πόλιος καλυπτῆρες  
 καὶ τῇ γενῇ φυσῶντες οὐκ ἴσον τούτῳ  
 πρὸς τοὺς νόμους βλέπουσι κῆμὲ τὸν ξεῖνον  
 οὐδεῖς πολίτης ἠλόησεν οὐδ' ἦλθεν  
 πρὸς τὰς θύρας μευ νυκτός οὐδ' ἔχων δαΐδας 35  
 τὴν οἰκίην ὑφῆψεν οὐδὲ τῶν πορνέων  
 β[ί]ηι λαβὼν οἷχωκεν· ἀλλ' ὁ Φρυξ οὗτος,  
 ὁ νῦν Θαλῆς ἐών, πρόσθε δ', ἄνδρες, Ἀρτίμης,  
 ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἔπρηξε κοῦκ ἐπηιδέσθη  
 οὔτε νόμον οὔτε προστάτην οὗτ' ἄρχοντα. 40  
 καίτοι λαβὼν μοι, γραμματεῦ, τῆς αἰκείης  
 τὸν νόμον ἀνειπε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ὁπὴν βῦσον  
 τῆς κλειψύδρης, βέλτιστε, μέχρις οὗ <'ν>εἴπηι,

13 [...].εα P: suppl. Blass 15 γνώσετ' οἷωι Knox προστάτ[ηι τ]εθώρη-  
 γμαι Blass 16 ἐρ(ε)ῖ] τᾶχ' ὕμιν Crusius 17 πυρ]οὺς F. D., Crusius  
 κή.τησ[τ]ατιν P: corr. F. D., Mekler 18 ἐγὼ δ]ε π[ό]ρ]νας Headlam  
 20 κείνην Hicks: κινήν P 26 ὅτ<ε>ωι Meister 28 εχρηναυτον P: corr.

pler. 29 ζωῖην P: corr. Rutherford 36 οικίαν P 43 <'ν>εἴπηι  
 Richards, Herwerden

μὴ †προστε† κῦσος φῆι τι κὼ τάπης ἦμιν,  
τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, λήϊης κύρσηι.

45

## ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ

ἐπὴν δ' ἐλεύθερός τις αἰκίσση δούλην  
ἢ ἔ(λ)κων ἐπίσπηι, τῆς δίκης τὸ τίμημα  
διπλοῦν τελείτω. ΒΑ. ταῦτ' ἔγραψε Χαιρώνδης,  
ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ οὐχὶ Βάτταρος χρήζων  
Θαλῆν μετελθεῖν. ἦν θύρην δέ τις κόψηι,  
μῆν τινέτω, φησί· ἦν δὲ πύξ ἀλοιήσσηι,  
ἄλλην πάλι μῆν· ἦν δὲ τὰ οἰκί' ἐμπρήσσηι  
ἢ ὄρους ὑπερβῆι, χιλίας τὸ τίμημα  
ἐγγεμε, κῆν βλάβηι τι, διπλόον τίνειν.  
ῶκει πόλιν γάρ, ὦ Θάλης, σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶσθας  
οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε πῶς πόλις διοικεῖται,  
οἰκεῖς δὲ σήμερον μὲν ἐν Βρικινδήροις  
ἐχθὲς δ' ἐν Ἀβδήροισιν, αὔριον δ' ἦν σοι  
ν[α]ῦλον διδοί τις, ἐς Φασηλίδα πλώσσηι.  
ἐ[γ]ὼ δ' ὅκως ἂν μὴ μακρηγορέων ὑμέας,  
ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῇ παροιμίῃι τρύχω,  
πέπονθα πρὸς Θάλητος ὅσσα κῆμ πίσσηι  
μῦς· πύξ ἐπλήγην, ἡ θύρη κατήρηκται  
τῆς οἰκίης μευ, τῆς τελέω τρίτην μισθόν,  
τὰ ὑπέρθυρ' ὀπτά. δεῦρο, Μυρτάλη, καὶ σύ·  
δείξον σεωντὴν πᾶσι· μῆδέν' αἰσχύνει·  
νόμιζε τούτου[ς] οὗς ὀρήϊς δικάζοντας  
πατέρας ἀδελφούς ἐμβλέπειν. ὀρήτ' ἄνδρες,  
τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κάτωθεν κᾶνωθεν  
ὥς λεία ταῦτ' ἔτλλεν ὠναγῆς οὗτος,  
ὅτ' εἶλκεν αὐτὴν κάβιάζετ'—ὦ γῆρας,  
σοὶ θυέτω ἐπ[εῖ] τὸ αἶμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν  
ὥσπερ Φίλι[π]πος ἐν Σάμῳ κοτ' ὁ †βρεγκος.

50

col. 10

55

60

65

col. 11

70

44 πρόσθ' ὁ Piccolomini φῆι τι Rutherford: φησι P

47 ἔ(λ)κων

Rutherford

51 φησιν P: corr. Rutherford

76 καπισσηι P

ισθο

η

ημ

64 μ[οιρα]ν P

67 οραις P

72 ἐπ[εῖ] τὸ αἶμ' Blass

73 φιλι[.]πος P:

[σ]τ

κ

Φίλι[π]πος Blass

ποτ P

γελᾷς ; κίν[α]ιδός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἀπαρνεῦμαι,  
καὶ Βάτταρός μοι τοῦνομ' ἐστὶ κὼ πάππος  
ἦν μοι Σισυμβρῶς κὼ πατήρ Σισυμβρίσκος,  
κῆπορνοβόσ[κ]ευν πάντες, ἀλλ' ἔκητ' ἀλκῆς  
θαρσέων λε[.].α[.].οιμαν εἰ Θαλῆς εἴη.  
ἐρᾷς σὺ μὲν ἴσω[s] Μυρτάλης ; οὐδὲν δεινόν·  
ἐγὼ δὲ πυρέων· ταῦτα δούς ἐκεῖν' ἔξεις.  
ἦ νῆ Δί', εἴ σευ θ[ά]λπεται τι τῶν ἔνδον,  
ἔμβυσον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα Βατταρίω τιμῆν,  
καυτὸς τὰ σαυτοῦ θλῆ λαβὼν ὅκως χρήζεις.  
ἐν δ' ἔστιν, ἄνδρες—ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ εἴρηται  
πρὸς τοῦτον—ὕμεις δ' ὥς ἀμαρτύρων εὕντων  
γνώμηι δικαίῃ τὴν κρίσιν διαιτᾶτε.  
ἦν δ' οἶον ἐς τὰ δοῦλα σώματα σπεύδει  
κῆς βάσανον αἰτῇι, προσδίδωμι κάμαντόν·  
λαβὼν, Θαλῆ, στρέβλου με· μοῦνον ἢ τιμὴ  
ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἔστω· ταῦτα τρυτάνη Μίνως  
οὐκ ἂν δικάζων βέλτιον διήμησε.  
τὸ λοιπόν, ἄνδρες, μὴ δοκεῖτε τὴν ψῆφον  
τῷ πορνοβοσκῷ Βαττάρῳ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ  
ἅπασι τοῖς οἰκεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ξείνοις.  
νῦν δείξετ' ἢ Κῶς κὼ Μέρου κόσον δραίνει,  
κὼ Θεσσαλὸς τίν' εἶχε κῆρακλῆς δόξαν,  
κῶσκληπιὸς κῶς ἦλθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκ Τρίκκης,  
κῆτικτε Λητοῦν ὧδε τεῦ χάριν Φοίβη.  
ταῦτα σκοπεῦντες πάντα τὴν δίκην ὀρθῇ  
γνώμηι κυβερνᾶτ', ὥς ὁ Φρὺξ τὰ νῦν ὑμῖν  
πληγεῖς ἀμείνων ἔσσειτ', εἴ τι μὴ ψεῦδος  
ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἢ παροιμίῃ βάζει.

75

80

col. 12

85

90

95

col. 13

100

78 λερ(uel φ)[.]ταχ[ P ut uid.: λέοντ' ἄγχοιμ' ἂν Bücheler

79' εραισμεν P

82 Βαττάρῳ Rutherford τιμην[ι.] P 83 τασ[.,]αυτου P

84 ενδετι[σ] P

ανδρασ P 102 βαζι P

## 3. ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ

## ΜΗΤΡΟΤΙΜΗ

οὕτω τί σοι δοίησαν αἱ φίλαι Μοῦσαι,  
 Λαμπρίσκε, τερπνὸν τῆς ζοῆς τ' ἐπαυρέσθαι,  
 τοῦτον κατ' ὤμου δεῖρον, ἄχρισ ἢ ψυχὴ  
 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χειλέων μούνον ἢ κακὴ λειψθήι.  
 ἔκ μευ ταλαίνης τὴν στέγην πεπόρθηκεν 5  
 χαλκίνδα παίζων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπαρκεῦσιν  
 αἱ ἀστραγάλοι, Λαμπρίσκε, συμφορῆς δ' ἤδη  
 ὀρμαὶ ἐπὶ μέζον. κοῦ μὲν ἢ θύρη κεῖται  
 τοῦ γραμματιστέω—καὶ τοιηκὰς ἢ πικρὴ  
 τὸν μισθὸν αἰτεῖ κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω— 10 col. 14  
 οὐκ ἂν ταχέως λήξειε· τὴν γε μὴν παίστην,  
 ὅκουπερ οἰκίζουσιν οἳ τε προύνεικοι  
 κοὶ δρηπέται, σάφ' οἶδε κητέρωι δεῖξαι.  
 κῆ μὲν τάλαινα δέλτος, ἣν ἐγὼ κάμνω  
 κηροῦς' ἐκάστου μηνός, ὀρφανὴ κεῖται 15  
 πρὸ τῆς χαμεύνης τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖχον ἐρμῖνος,  
 ἣν μήκοτ' αὐτὴν οἶον Αἰδὴν βλέψας  
 γράψῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν, ἐκ δ' ὅλην ξύσηι·  
 αἱ δορκαλίδες δὲ λιπαρώτεραι πολλόν  
 ἐν τῇσι φύσῃσι τοῖς τε δικτύοις κεῖνται 20  
 τῆς ληκύθου ἡμέων τῇ ἐπὶ παντὶ χρώμεσθα.  
 ἐπίσταται δ' οὐδ' ἄλφα συλλαβὴν γνῶναι,  
 ἣν μή τις αὐτῷ ταῦτ' πεντάκις βώσηι.  
 τριτῆμέρηι Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος  
 τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ, τὸν Μάρωνα ἐποίησεν 25  
 οὗτος Σίμων· ὁ χρηστός· ὥστ' ἐγὼ γ' εἶπα  
 ἄνουν ἐμαντήν, ἥτις οὐκ ὄνους βόσκειν  
 αὐτὸν διδάσκω, γραμμάτων δὲ παιδείην,  
 δοκεῖσ' ἄρωγόν τῆς ἀωρίης ἔξειν.  
 ἐπεὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ρῆσιν οἶα παιδίσκον 30

10 ἵνα τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω cit. Zen. 6. 10 (Paroem. Gr. i. 164)

11 λέξειε

pler. 12 ὁκλάζουσιν Herwerden  
23 βωσαι P: corr. Rutherford, Blass

17 ἦν Palmer, Blass: κην P  
24 τριθημεραι P: corr. Herwerden

21 τὴν P

ἢ ἴγώ μιν εἰπεῖν ἢ ὁ πατήρ ἀνώγωμεν,  
 γέρων ἀνὴρ ὥσιν τε κῶμμασιν κάμνων,  
 ἐνταῦθ' ὅκως νιν ἐκ τετρημένης ἤθει  
 “Ἄπολλον . . . Ἀγρευ . . .”, “τοῦτο” φημι “ικὴ μάμμη,  
 τάλῃς, ἐρεῖ σοι—κῆστὶ γραμμάτων χήρῃ— 35  
 κὼ προστυχὼν Φρύξ.” ἦν δὲ δῆ τι καὶ μέζον  
 γρυῖσαι θέλωμεν, ἢ τριταῖος οὐκ οἶδεν  
 τῆς οἰκίης τὸν οὐδόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μάμμην,  
 γρηῦν γυναικα κῶρφανὴν βίου, κείρει,  
 ἢ τοῦ τέγευς ὑπερθε τὰ σκέλεα τείνας 40  
 κάθητ' ὅκως τις καλλίης κάτω κύπτων.  
 τί μευ δοκεῖς τὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς κάκης πάσχειν  
 ἐπεὰν ἴδωμι; κοῦ τόσος λόγος τοῦδε· col. 16  
 ἀλλ' ὁ κέραμος πᾶς ὥσπερ ἵτ<ρ>ια θλῆται,  
 κῆπῆν ὁ χειμῶν ἐγγὺς ἦι, τρί' ἡμαιθα 45  
 κλαίουσα ἐκάστου τοῦ πλατύσματος τίνω·  
 ἐν γὰρ στόμ' ἐστὶ τῆς συνοικίης πάσης,  
 “τοῦ Μητροτίμης ἔργα Κοττάλου ταῦτα”,  
 καλῆθίν' ὥστε μηδ' ὁδόντα κινῆσαι.  
 ὄρη δὲ κοίως τὴν ράκιν λελέπηκε 50  
 πᾶσαν, κατ' ὕλην, οἷα Δῆλιος κυρτεύς  
 ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, τῷμβλὺ τῆς ζοῆς τρίβων.  
 τὰς ἐβδόμας δ' ἄμεινον εἰκάδας τ' οἶδε  
 τῶν ἀστροδιφέων, κοῦδ' ὕπνος νιν αἰρεῖται  
 νοεῖντ' ὅτ' ἦμος παιγνίην ἀγινῇτε. 55  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τί σοι, Λαμπρίσκε, καὶ βίου πρῆξιν  
 ἐσθλὴν τελοῖεν αἶδε κάγαθῶν κύρσαις,  
 μῆλασσον αὐτῶι— ΛΑΜΠΡΙΣΚΟΣ Μητροτίμη, <μῆ>  
 ἐπεύχεο·  
 ἔξει γὰρ οὐδὲν μείον. Εὐθίης κοῦ μοι,  
 κοῦ Κόκκαλος, κοῦ Φίλλος; οὐ ταχέως τοῦτον 60  
 ἀρεῖτ' ἐπ' ὧμου τῇ Ἀκέσῃ σεληναίῃ col. 17

34 <sup>γ</sup> αυρευ P      36 <sup>μ</sup>ιζον P: corr. Rutherford      44 ἵτ<ρ>ια Rutherford  
 45 <sup>αι</sup> ημεθα P      50 <sup>ο</sup> δεκοιωσ P      53 ἐβδόμας δ' Terzaghi: ἐβδομαστ P  
 58 <sup>κ</sup>μητροιτιμη P: corr. Kenyon      <μῆ> Jackson, Ellis, Blass      59 <sup>κ</sup>που P

δείζοντες· αἰνέω τάργα, Κότταλ', ἃ πρήσσεις·  
οὐ σοι ἔτ' ἀπαρκεῖ τῆισι δορκάσιν παίζεις  
ἀστράβδ' ὅκωσπερ οὔδε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν παίστην  
ἐν τοῖσι προ(υ)νείκοισι χαλκίζεις φοιτέων· 65  
ἐγὼ σε θήσω κοσμιώτερον κούρης,  
κινεῦντα μηδὲ κάρφος, εἰ τό γ' ἥδιστον.  
κοῦ μοι τὸ δριμύ σκυῖτος, ἢ βοὸς κέρκος,  
ᾧ τοὺς πεδήτας κάποτάκτους λωβεῦμαι;  
δότης τις εἰς τὴν χεῖρα πρὶν †χολη† βῆξαι. 70

## ΚΟΤΤΑΛΟΣ

- μή μ' ἱκετεύω, Λαμπρίσκε, πρὸς σε τῶν Μουσέων  
καὶ τοῦ γενείου τῆς τε Κόττιδος ψυχῆς  
μή τῶι με δριμεί, τῶι ἔρωι δὲ λώβησαι.  
<ΛΑ.> ἀλλ' εἴς πονηρός, Κότταλε, ὥ(σ)τε καὶ περνάς 75  
οὐδεὶς σ' ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅκου χώρης  
οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγουσιν.  
ΚΟ. κόσας, κόσας, Λαμπρίσκε, λίσσομαι, μέλλεις  
ἔς μ' ἐνφορῆσαι; <ΛΑ.> μή μ' ἐπ' εἰρώτα.  
<ΚΟ.> τατα(ῖ), κόσας μοι δώσεται; <ΜΗ.> εἰ τί σοι ζώην, col. 18  
φέρειν ὅσας ἂν ἡ κακὴ σθένει βύρσα. 80  
<ΚΟ.> παῦσαι· ἱκαναί, Λαμπρίσκε. ΛΑ. καὶ σὺ δὴ παῦσαι  
κάκ' ἔργα πρήσσων. <ΚΟ.> οὐκέτ' οὐκέτι πρήξω,  
ὄμνυμί σοι, Λαμπρίσκε, τὰς φίλας Μούσας.  
ΛΑ. ὅσσην δὲ καὶ τὴν γλάσσαν, οὗτος, ἔσχηκας·  
πρὸς σοι βαλέω τὸν μῦν τάχ' ἦν πλέω γρύξης. 85  
ΚΟ. ἰδού, σιωπῶ· μή με, λίσσομαι, κτείνῃς.  
ΛΑ. μέθεσθε, Κόκκαλ', αὐτόν. ΜΗ. οὐ δ(εἰ σ') ἐκλήξαι,  
Λαμπρίσκε· δεῖρον ἄχρῃς ἥλιος δύσῃ.

[Λ]  
62 κοτταλα P 63 ταισι P: corr. Rutherford 65 προ(υ)νεί-  
κοισι Kenyon 68 σκυλος P: corr. Jackson, Crusius, Herwerden 71 μή μ'  
[[ου]] λαμ ι ου  
Bücheler: μῆμη P ἱκετεύω P [[προσ]]πρίσκε P προσ ut uid. P 72 τ[[ων]]γενειων  
P κουτιδος P 74 ὥ(σ)τε Kenyon 75 οκωσ P 78 μενφορησαι P:  
corr. Rutherford 79 τᾱτᾱ P: corr. Herwerden <ΜΗ.> Crusius, Blass  
82 οὐκέτι Rutherford: ουχι P 84 εσχηκεν P 87 δ(εἰ σ')  
Pearson, Danielsson 88 δειρον P



⟨ΛΑ. ἀλλ' .....⟩	88a
ΜΗ. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὕδρης ποικιλώτερος πολλῶι καὶ δεῖ λαβεῖν νιν—κάπὶ βυβλίωι δῆκου, τὸ μηδέν—ἄλλας εἵκοσίν γε, καὶ ἦν μέλλῃ αὐτῆς ἄμεινον τῆς Κλεοῦς ἀναγνῶναι.	90
⟨ΚΟ.⟩ ἴσσαί. ⟨ΛΑ.⟩ λάθοις τὴν γλάσσαν ἐς μέλι πλύνας.	
⟨ΜΗ.⟩ ἐρέω ἐπιμηθέως τῶι γέροντι, Λαμπρίσκε, ἐλθοῦς ἐς οἶκον ταῦτα, καὶ πέδας ἤξω φέρουσ' ὅκως νιν σύμποδ' ὦδε πηδεῦντα αἱ πότνιαι βλέπωσιν ἄς ἐμίσησεν.	95
	col. 19

#### 4. ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΙ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΕΙΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΣΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

##### ΚΥΝΝΩ

χαίροις, ἄναξ Παῖον, ὃς μέδεις Τρίκκης καὶ Κῶν γλυκεῖαν κῆπίδαυρον ὠϊκηκας, σὺν καὶ Κορωνῖς ἥ σ' ἔτικτε κῶπόλλων χαίροιεν, ἧς τε χειρὶ δεξιῇ ψαύεις 'Υγίεια, κῶνπερ οἶδε τίμοι βωμοί	5
Πανάκη τε κῆπιώ τε κῆσὼ χαίροι, κοὶ Λεωμέδοντος οἰκίην τε καὶ τείχεα πέρσαντες, ἱητῆρες ἀγρίων νούσων, Ποδαλείριός τε καὶ Μαχάων χαιρόντων, κῶσοι θεοὶ σὴν ἐστίνην κατοικεῦσιν	10
καὶ θεαί, πάτερ Παῖον· ἔλεω δεῦτε τοῦ ἀλέκτορος τοῦδ', ὅντιν' οἰκίης †τοίχων† κήρυκα θύω, τὰπίδορπα δέξαισθε. οὐ γάρ τι πολλὴν οὐδ' ἔτοιμον ἀντλεῦμεν, ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἂν βοῦν ἢ νενημένην χοῖρον	15
πολλῆς φορίνης, κοῦκ ἀλέκτορ', ἦητρα	

88a add. anon. ap. Headlam σαν P: corr. Kenyon	93 ⟨ΚΟ.⟩ et ⟨ΛΑ.⟩ Groeneboom	12ασ-
2 γλυκεῖαν P: corr. Rutherford	5 τεκ'ωνπερ P: τε del. Crawley, Kaibel, ω	
Blass	7 τιχη P: corr. Meister	12 τουαλεκτοροσ P
		16 ἡτηρ[[ι]]α P

νούσων ἐποιεύμεσθα τὰς ἀπέψησας

ἐπ' ἡπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τείνας.

ἐκ δεξιῆς τὸν πίνακα, Κοκκάλη, στήσον

τῆς Ὑγιείης. <ΦΙΛΗ> ᾧ, καλῶν, φίλη Κυνοῖ,

ἀγαλμάτων· τίς ἦρα τὴν λίθον ταύτην

τέκτων ἐπο<ι>ει καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ στήσας;

<ΚΥ.> οἱ Πρηξιτέλεω παῖδες· οὐκ ὀρῆις κείνα

ἐν τῇ βάσι τὰ γράμματα· Εὐθύης δ' αὐτὴν

ἔστησεν ὁ Πρήξωνος. <ΦΙ.> ἴλεως εἶη

καὶ τοῖσδ' ὁ Παιῶν καὶ Εὐθύη καλῶν ἔργων.

<ΚΥ.> ὄρη, Φίλη, τὴν παῖδα τὴν ἄνω κείνην

βλέπουσαν ἐς τὸ μῆλον· οὐκ ἐρεῖς αὐτὴν

ἦν μὴ λάβῃ τὸ μῆλον ἐκ τάχα ψύξει<ν>;

<ΦΙ.> κείνον δέ, Κυνοῖ, τὸν γέροντ'— <ΚΥ.> ᾧ πρὸς Μοιρέων 30

τὴν χηναλώπεκα ὥς τὸ παιδίον πνίγει.

πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν γοῦν εἴ τι μὴ λίθος, τοῦργον,

ἐρεῖς, λαλήσει. μᾶ, χρόνῳ κοτ' ὠνθρωποι

κῆς τοὺς λίθους ἔξουσιν τὴν ζοὴν θεῖναι.

ΦΙ. τὸν Βατάλης γὰρ τοῦτον οὐκ ὀρῆις, Κυνοῖ,

ὅπως βέβηκεν ἀνδρ[ι]άντα τῆς Μύττεω;

εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὴν εἶδε Βατάλην, βλέψας

ἐς τοῦτο τὸ εἰκόνισμα μὴ ἐτύμης δεισθῶ.

ΚΥ. ἔπεν, Φίλη, μοι καὶ καλόν τί σοι δείξω

πρῆγμ' οἶον οὐκ ὥρηκας ἐ[ξ] ὅτεν ζώεις.

Κύδιλλ', ἰοῦσα τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον.

οὐ σοὶ λέγω, αὐτῇ, τῇ ὧδε κῶδε χασκεύσῃ;

μᾶ, μὴ τιν' ὥρην ὧν λέγω πεποιήται,

ἔστηκε δ' εἰς μ' ὀρεῦσα καρκ[ι]νου μέζον.

ἰοῦσα, φημί, τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον.

λαίμαστρον, οὔτ' ὀργή σ[ε] κ[ρ]ηγύην οὔτε

35 col. 21

40

45

20 [[μ]]ᾧ P Richards 21 <sup>η</sup> τον P 22 ἐπο<ι>ει Kenyon 24 αὐτα P: corr. Richards 26 ευθιησ P: corr. Rutherford, Kaibel, Blass 27 κει[[με]]νην P 29 ψύξει<ν> Rutherford 30 γεροντά P: dist. Knox 36 οπως P βε...ε.

P: suppl. pler. 37 ..σ..την P: suppl. Hicks, Rutherford 38 ετ...η P: suppl. Tyrrell, Stadtmüller: ἐτέρης Richards, Kaibel 40 στου P: corr. Rutherford

βέβηλος αἰνεῖ, πανταχῇ δ' ἔση κείσαι.  
μαρτύρομαι, Κύδιλλα, τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον,  
ὡς ἔκ με κα(ι)εῖς οὐ θέλουσαν οἰδῆσαι·  
μαρτύρομαι, φημί· ἔσσετ' ἡμέρῃ κείνῃ  
ἐν ἣι τὸ βρέγμα τοῦτο †τῶσσυρες† κινήσει.

50

ΦΙ. μὴ πάντ' ἐτοίμως καρδιηβολεῦ, Κυνοῖ·  
δούλη 'στι, δούλης δ' ὦτα νωθρή θλίβει.

col. 22

ΚΥ. ἀλλ' ἡμέρη τε κῆπι μέζον ὠθεῖται·  
αὕτη σύ, μείνον· ἡ θύρῃ γὰρ ὤϊκται  
κάνειτ' ὁ παστός. <ΦΙ.> οὐκ ὀρήις, φίλῃ Κυνοῖ;  
οἶ' ἔργα κεί 'νῆν· ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην  
γλύψαι τὰ καλά—χαιρέτω δὲ δέσποινα.

55

τὸν παῖδα δὴ <τὸν> γυμνὸν ἦν κνίσω τοῦτον  
οὐκ ἔλκος ἔξει, Κύννα; πρὸς γάρ οἱ κεῖνται  
αἱ σάρκες οἶα θερμὰ θερμὰ πηδῶσαι  
ἐν τῇ σανίσκῃ. τῶργύρευν δὲ πύρανστρον

60

οὐκ ἦν ἴδη(σι) Μύλλος ἢ Πατακίσκος  
ὁ Λαμπρίωνος, ἐκβαλεῦσι τὰς κούρας  
δοκεῦντες ὄντως ἀργύρευν πεποιῆσθαι;

65

ὁ βοῦς δὲ κὼ ἄγων αὐτὸν ἢ τ' ὀμαρτεῦσα  
κὼ γρυπὸς οὔτος κὼ [ἀν]άσιλλος ἄνθρωπος  
οὐχὶ ζοὴν βλέπουσι κῆμέρην πάντες;  
εἰ μὴ ἐδόκευν τι μέζον ἢ γυνὴ πρήσσειν,  
ἀνηλάξ' ἄν, μὴ μ' ὁ βοῦς τι πημήνην·  
οὔτω ἐπιλοξοί, Κυννί, τῇ ἐτέρῃ κούρῃ.

70

ΚΥ. ἀληθιναί, Φίλῃ, γὰρ αἱ Ἐφεσίου χεῖρες  
ἐς πάντ' Ἀπελλέω γράμματα· οὐδ' ἐρεῖς “κεῖνος  
ἄνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν, ἐν δ' ἀπηρνῆθη”,  
ἀλλ' ὦι ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο καὶ θέων ψαύειν

col. 23

75

47 δι. P: suppl. Palmer 49 κα:σ P: corr. Meister 50 φιμι P:  
corr. Rutherford ημερη:κ[ε]ινη P: corr. Palmer 51 η[ι] P τῶσσυρες  
(nescio quid supra σ alt. sscr.) P 52 καρδιηβολοῦ Paton (-εῦ Headlam):

καρδιηβαλ[λ]ει P 57 κ[ο]ινην P: expl. Diels, Richards 59 <τὸν>  
Kenyon 61 θερμα alt. sscr. P 62 πῦρᾱστ'ον P: corr. Vollgraff

63 ιδημυλοσ P: corr. Headlam 66 χο P: corr. Kaibel, Rutherford

67 [[ουκ]]κω[.]...ασιμοσ P 68 βλεπουσινημερην P: corr. Hicks 69 εδοκουν  
P: corr. Rutherford 71 ουτωσ P: corr. Kaibel, Rutherford

ἡπείγεται· ὃς δ' ἐκείνον ἢ ἔργα τὰ ἐκείνου  
μὴ παμφαλήσας ἐκ δίκης ὀρώρηκεν,  
ποδὸς κρέμαίτ' ἐκείνος ἐν γναφέως οἴκωι.

### ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ

κάλ' ὕμιν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἐντελέως τὰ ἱρά  
καὶ ἐς λῶιον ἐμβλέποντα· μεζόνως οὐτις  
ἡρέσατο τὸν Παιήον' ἥπερ οὖν ὑμεῖς.  
ἰὴ ἰὴ Παίηον, εὐμενὴς εἴης  
καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς τῆισδε κεί τινες τῶνδε  
ἔασ' ὀπυιηταί τε καὶ γενῆς ἄσπον.  
ἰὴ ἰὴ Παίηον, ὦδε ταῦτ' εἴη.

85

<ΚΥ.> εἴη γάρ, ὦ μέγιστε, κὺγίη πολλῇ  
ἔλθοιμεν αὐτὶς μέζον' ἢρ' ἀγινεῦσαι  
σὺν ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισί. Κοκκάλη, καλῶς  
τεμεῦσα μέμνεο τὸ σκελύδριον δοῦναι  
τῶι νεωκόρῳι τοῦρνιθος· ἔς τε τὴν τρώγλην  
τὸν πελανὸν ἐνθες τοῦ δράκοντος εὐφήμῳς,  
καὶ ψαιστὰ δεῦσον· τᾶλλα δ' οἰκίης ἔδρηι  
δαισόμεθα, καὶ ἐπὶ μὴ λάθῃι φέρειν, αὐτῇ  
τῆς ὑγίης †λωι† πρόσδος· ἢ γὰρ ἱροῖσιν  
†με.ων αμαρτιτησηυγησι† τῆς μοίρης.

90 col. 24

95

## 5. ΖΗΛΟΥΠΟΣ

### BITINNA

λέγε μοι σύ, Γάστρων, ἥδ' ὑπερκορὴς οὕτω  
ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἀρκεῖ τὰμά σοι σκέλεα κινεῖν  
ἄλλ' Ἀμφυταίῃι τῇ Μένωνος ἔγκεισαι;

83 ταιοδε P: corr. Cunningham 85 χυγιμη P: corr. Rutherford

88 κοτταλη

P: corr. Rutherford 90 νεοκορωι P: corr. Kaibel, Rutherford  
95 μεφων vel μεφων P ut uid.

λ  
94 δωι P

## ΓΑΣΤΡΩΝ

- ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίη; τὴν λέγεις ὀρώρηκα  
 γυναῖκα; <BI.> προφάσις πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἔλκεις. 5
- <ΓΑ.> Βίτινα, δοῦλός εἰμι· χρῶ ὅτι βούλημι <μοι>  
 καὶ μὴ τό μευ αἷμα νύκτα κῆμέρην π[ί]νε.  
 BI. ὄσσην δὲ καὶ τὴν γλάσσαν, οὗτος, ἔσχηκας.  
 Κύδιλλα, κοῦ 'στι Πυρρίης, κάλει μ' αὐτόν.

## ΠΥΡΡΙΗΣ

- τί ἐστι; BI. τοῦτον δῆσον—ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔστηκας;— 10  
 τὴν ἱμανήθρην τοῦ κάδου ταχέως λύσας.  
 ἦν μὴ κατακίεσσα τῇ σ' ὅληι χώρῃ col. 25  
 παράδειγμα θῶ, μᾶ, μή με θῆις γυναῖκ' εἶναι.  
 ἦρ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον Φρύξ; ἐγὼ αἰτή τούτων,  
 ἐγῶιμι, Γάστρων, ἣ σε θείσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις. 15  
 ἀλλ' εἰ τότε' ἐξήμαρτον, οὐ τὰ νῦν εἶσαν  
 μώρην Βίτιναν, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἔτ' εὐρήσεις.  
 φέρ', εἰς σύ, δῆσον, τὴν ἀπληγίδ' ἐκδύσας.  
 ΓΑ. μὴ μή, Βίτινα, τῶν σε γουνάτων δευμαῖ.  
 BI. ἔκδυθι, φημί. δεῖ σ' ὀτεύνεκ' εἰ<ς> δοῦλος 20  
 καὶ τρεῖς ὑπέρ σευ μνᾶς ἔθηκα γινώσκειν.  
 ὡς μὴ καλῶς γένοιτο τῇμέρῃ κείνῃ  
 ἥτις σ' ἐσήγαγ' ὦδε. Πυρρίη, κλαύση·  
 ὀρῶ σε δήκου πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δεῦντα·  
 σύσσιγγε τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἔκπρισον δήσας. 25  
 ΓΑ. Βίτινα, ἄφες μοι τὴν ἀμαρτίην ταύτην.  
 ἀνθρωπός εἰμι, ἥμαρτον· ἀλλ' ἐπὴν αὐτὶς  
 ἔλῃς τι δρώντα τῶν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς, στίξον.  
 BI. πρὸς Ἀμφυταίην ταῦτα, μὴ 'μὲ πληκτίζεω,  
 μετ' ἧς ἀλινδῇ καὶ ἐμ..(.)η προδόψηστρον 30 col. 26

4 ἀμφυταίην P: corr. Jackson    λ    γεισ    τὴν[μ]ε[γνων]ορωρηκα (ρ pr. fort. corr. ex σ) P  
 5-6 <BI.> et <ΓΑ.> Rutherford    5 ἡμεραν P: corr. Rutherford    6 βουλι P:

corr. Meister    <μοι> Blass, Bücheler    κ    στ    9 που[μο]ι P    14 ἡρ corr. ex ειρ P  
 17 μῶραν P: corr. Blass    19 δουμαῖ P: corr. Rutherford, Blass    20 εἰ<ς>  
 Rutherford    21 γινωισκιν P    23 κλαυσι P: corr. Meister    25 συγ-

σφιγγε P: corr. Bücheler    26 αμαρτιαν P    30 αλινδι P: corr. Meister

- <ΠΥ.> δέδεται καλῶς σοι. ΒΙ. μὴ λάθῃ λυθεῖς σκέψαι.  
 ἄγ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ζήτρειον πρὸς Ἑρμωνα  
 καὶ χιλίας μὲν ἐς τὸ νῶτον ἐγκόψαι  
 αὐτῷ κέλευσον, χιλίας δὲ τῇ γαστρί.  
 ΓΑ. ἀποκτενεῖς, Βίτιννα, μ' οὐδ' ἐλέγξασα 35  
 εἴτ' ἔστ' ἀληθέα πρῶτον εἴτε καὶ ψευδέα;  
 ΒΙ. ἃ δ' αὐτὸς εἶπας ἄρτι τῇ ἰδίῃ γλάσσει,  
 "Βίτιν", ἄφες μοι τὴν ἀμαρτίην ταύτην";  
 ΓΑ. τὴν σευ χολὴν γὰρ ἤθελον κατασβῶσαι.  
 ΒΙ. ἔστηκας ἐμβλέπων σύ, κοῦκ ἄγεις αὐτόν 40  
 ὅκου λέγω σοι; θλῇ, Κύδιλλα, τὸ ρύγχος  
 τοῦ παντοέρκτεω τοῦδε. καὶ σύ μοι, Δρήκων,  
 ἦδη ἴφαμάρτει <τῇ> σοι ἂν οὗτος ἡγήται.  
 δώσεις τι, δούλη, τῷ κατηρήτῳ τούτῳ  
 ράκος καλύψαι τὴν ἀνώνυμον κέρκον, 45  
 ὥς μὴ δι' ἀγορῆς γυμνὸς ὦν θεωρήται.  
 τὸ δεύτερόν σοι, Πυρρή, πάλιν φωνέω,  
 ὅκως ἐρεῖς Ἑρμῶνι χιλίας ὥδε  
 καὶ χιλίας ὥδ' ἐμβαλεῖν ἀκήκουκας; col. 27  
 ὥς ἦν τι τούτων ὦν λέγω παραστείξῃς, 50  
 αὐτὸς σὺ καὶ τάρχαϊα καὶ τόκους τείσεις.  
 βάδιζε καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλῃς αὐτόν  
 ἄγ', ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰθεῖαν. οὐ δ' ἐπεμνήσθην—  
 κάλει, κάλει δραμεῦσα, πρὶν μακρὴν, δούλη,  
 αὐτο<ν> γενέσθαι. ΚΥΔΙΛΛΑ Πυρρή, τάλας, κωφέ, 55  
 καλεῖ σε. μᾶ, δόξει τις οὐχὶ σύνδουλον  
 αὐτὸν σπαράσσειν ἀλλὰ σημάτων φῶρα.  
 ὀρήεις ὅκως νῦν τοῦτον ἐκ βίης ἔλκεις  
 ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, Πυρρή; <σ>έ, μᾶ, τούτοις  
 τοῖς δύο Κύδιλλ' ἐπόψετ' ἡμερέων πέντε 60  
 παρ' Ἀντιδώρῳ τὰς Ἀχαϊκὰς κείνας,  
 ἃς πρῶν ἔθικας, τοῖς σφυροῖσι τρίβοντα.

31 μ[ε]θη P  
 Rutherford, Blass

32 -ζήτρειον cit. EM 411. 33  
 37 ἰδιαί P: corr. Herwerden

33 τον P: corr.  
 41 θλῇ Headlam: οδῇ P

42 του[το] P  
 57 σπαρτιν P: corr. Rutherford

43 <τῇ> σοι ἂν Danielsson: σοιεαν P

55 αὐτο<ν> pler.  
 60 τουσ P:

59 <σ>ε Weil, Blass  
 corr. Weil, Blass

- ΒΙ. οὗτος σύ, τοῦτον αὖτις ὧδ' ἔχων ἦκε  
 δεδεμένον οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐξάγεις αὐτόν,  
 Κόσιν τέ μοι κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν τὸν στίκτην  
 ἔχοντα ραφίδας καὶ μέλαν. μὴ δεῖ σε  
 ὁδῶι γενέσθαι ποικίλον. κατηρτήσθω  
 οὕτω κατάμνος ὥσπερ ἡ Δάου τιμή.
- ΚΥ. μή, τατί, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν αὐτόν—οὕτω σοι  
 ζώῃ Βατυλλὶς κήπιδος μιν ἐλθοῦσαν  
 ἐς ἀνδρὸς οἶκον καὶ τέκν' ἀγκάλης ἄραις—  
 ἄφες, παραιτεῦμαί σε· τὴν μίαν ταύτην  
 ἀμαρτίην . . . ΒΙ. Κύδιλλα, μή με λύπει τι  
 ἢ φεύζομ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης. ἀφέω τοῦτον  
 τὸν ἐπτάδουλον; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἀπαντῶσα  
 ἐς μεν δικαίως τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπτύοι;  
 οὐ τὴν Τύραννον, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ οὐκ οἶδεν,  
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἐωντόν, αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει  
 ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων τοῦτο.
- ΚΥ. ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰκὰς καὶ Γερήν' ἐς πέμπτην.
- ΒΙ. νῦν μὲν σ' ἀφήσω, καὶ ἔχε τὴν χάριν ταύτην,  
 ἣν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ Βατυλλίδα στέργω,  
 ἐν τῇσι χερσὶ τῆς ἐμῇσι θρέψασα.  
 ἐπεὰν δὲ τοῖς καμουσιν ἐγχυτλώσωμεν  
 ἄξεις τότε ἀμελι(τί)τιν ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐορτῆς.

65

col. 28

70

75

80

85 col. 29

## 6. ΦΙΔΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ Η ΙΔΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

## ΚΟΡΙΤΤΩ

κάθησο, Μητροῖ. τῇ γυναικὶ θὲς δίφρον  
 ἀνασταθεῖσα· πάντα δεῖ με προστάσσειν  
 αὐτήν· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἄν, τάλαινα, ποιήσais

69 <sup>οι</sup>σω P  
 Cunningham  
 70 μεν P: corr. Rutherford, Blass  
 73 με λύπει τι Palmer: λυπιτεμε P  
 71 ἀγκαλαισ P: corr.  
 74 ἀφέω-75 ἐπτά-  
 δουλον cit. Eust. 1542. 50  
 77 ἐπεπειπερ (π alt. corr. ex ι) P: corr. Kenyon  
 82 ηττον P: corr. Hicks  
 85 αμ. λιτ. P (ἀμέλει τὴν Hicks): corr. Headlam  
 1 [[δ]]θεσ, θ corr. ex ο, ε fort. corr. ex σ, P  
 2 προσταττιν P: corr.  
 Rutherford

αὐτὴ ἀπὸ σαυτῆς· μᾶ, λίθος τις, οὐ δούλη  
 ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ <κ>εῖσ'· ἀλλὰ τάλφιτ' ἦν μετρέω 5  
 τὰ κρίμν' ἀμιθρεῖς, κῆ<ν> τοσοῦτ' ἀποστάξῃ  
 τὴν ἡμέ[ρ]ην ὅλην σε τουθορύζουσιν  
 καὶ πρημονῶσαν οὐ φέρουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι.  
 νῦν αὐτὸν ἐκμάσσεις τε καὶ ποεῖς λαμπρόν  
 ὅτ' ἐστὶ χρ[εῖ]η, ληιστρί; θυέ μοι ταύτῃ 10  
 ἐπεὶ σ' ἔγενεθ' ἂν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ χειρέων.

## ΜΗΤΡΩ

φίλῃ Κοριττοῖ, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ ζυγὸν τρίβεις·  
 κῆγὼ ἐπιβρύχουσα ἡμέρην τε καὶ νύκτα  
 κύων ὑλακτέω τῇ[ς] ἀκωνύμοις ταύτης.  
 ἀλλ' οὐνεκεν πρὸς σ' ἡλ[θ]ον—ἐκποδὼν ἡμιν 15  
 φθείρεσθε, νάβυστρα, ὦτ[α] μούνον καὶ γλάσσαι  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐορτή—λίσσομα[ί] σ]ε, μὴ ψεύσῃ,  
 φίλῃ Κοριττοῖ, τίς κοτ' ἦν ὃ σοι ράψας col.30  
 τὸν κόκκινον βαυβῶνα; ΚΟ. κοῦ δ' ὀρώρηκας,  
 Μητροῖ, σὺ κείνον; ΜΗ. Νοσσίς εἰ[χ]εν ἡρίνῃς 20  
 τριτημέρην νιν· μᾶ, καλὸν τι δώρημα.

ΚΟ. Νοσσίς; κόθεν λαβοῦσα; ΜΗ. διαβαλεῖς ἦν σοι  
 εἶπω; ΚΟ. μὰ τούτους τοὺς γλυκέας, φίλῃ Μητροῖ,  
 ἐκ τοῦ Κοριττοῦς στόματος οὐδεὶς μὴ ἀκούσῃ  
 ὅσ' ἂν σὺ λέξῃς. ΜΗ. ἡ Βιτᾶδος Εὐβούλῃ 25  
 ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ καὶ εἶπε μηδέν' αἰσθέσθαι.

ΚΟ. γυναῖκες. αὕτη μ' ἡ γυνή κοτ' ἐκτρίψει.  
 ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὴν λιπαρεῦσαν ἡιδέσθην  
 κῆδωκα, Μητροῖ, πρόσθεν ἢ αὐτὴ χρήσασθαι·  
 ἢ δ' ὦ<σ>περ εὐρημ' ἀρπάσα<σα> δωρεῖται 30  
 καὶ τῇσι μὴ δεῖ. χαιρέτω φίλῃ πολλὰ

5 <κ>εῖσ' Richards μετρέω P 6 κῆν . . . ἀποστάξῃ Rutherford, Kaibel,

Blass: κη . . . ἀποσταξί P 10 χρ[.]η P: suppl. pler. 11 χ[ε]ιρῶν P  
 14 ται[σ] . . . ταυταισ P: corr. Rutherford 16 ω.[.] P: suppl. Hicks

17 εορτῃ P: corr. Blass, Danielsson 19 κο[υ]κινον P 25 βιτᾶτος P:  
 corr. Schulze 27 ποτ P: corr. Rutherford, Blass 30 ὦ<σ>περ Kenyon  
 ἀρπάσα<σα> Kenyon 31 ταισι P: corr. Rutherford



εἴουσα τοίη, κητέρην τιν' ἀντ' ἡμέων  
 φίλην ἀθρείτω. τὰμὰ Νοσσίδι χρῆσαι  
 τῇ μὴ δοκέω—μέζον μὲν ἢ δίκη γρύζω,  
 λάθοιμι δ', Ἀδρήστεια—χιλίων εὐντων  
 ἓνα οὐκ ἂν ὅστις σαπρός ἐστι προσδώσω.

35

MH.

μὴ δὴ, Κοριττοῖ, τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ ρινός  
 ἔχ' εὐθύς, ἣν τι ρῆμα μὴ σοφὸν πεύθη.  
 γυναικός ἐστι κρηγύης φέρειν πάντα.

col. 31

ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων αἰτή λαλεῦσ' εἰμι  
 πόλλ', ἀ<λλὰ> τὴν μευ γλάσσαν ἐκτεμεῖν δεῖται.

40

ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ σοι καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπεμνήσθην,  
 τίς ἔστ' ὁ ράψας αὐτόν; εἰ φιλεῖς μ', εἶπον.

τί μ' ἐνβλέπεις γελῶσα; νῦν ὀρώρηκας  
 Μητροῦν τὸ πρῶτον; ἢ τί τὰβρά σοι ταῦτα;

45

ἐνεύχομαι, Κοριττί, μή μ' ἐπιψεύσῃ,  
 ἀλλ' εἰπὲ τὸν ράψαντα. ΚΟ. μᾶ, τί μοι ἐνεύχῃ;  
 Κέρδων ἔραψε. <MH.> κοῖος, εἰπέ μοι, Κέρδων;

δύ' εἰσὶ γὰρ Κέρδωνες· εἷς μὲν ὁ γλαυκός  
 ὁ Μυρταλίνης τῆς Κυλαιθίδος γείτων,

50

ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐδ' ἂν πληκτρον ἐς λύρην ράψαι·

ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐγγὺς τῆς συνοικίης οἰκέων  
 τῆς Ἑρμοδώρου τὴν πλατεῖαν ἐκβάντι,

ἣν μὲν κοτ' ἦν τις, ἀλλὰ νῦν γεγήρακε·  
 τούτῳ Κυλαιθὶς ἡ μακαρίτις ἐχρήτο—

55 col. 32

μνησθεῖεν αὐτῆς οὔτινες προσήκουσι.

ΚΟ.

οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ὥς λέγεις, Μητροῖ·

ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ <'χ> Χίου τις ἢ ῥυθρέων  
 ἥκει, φαλακρός, μικκός· αὐτὸ ἐρεῖς εἶναι

Πρηξίνον, οὐδ' ἂν σύκον εἰκάσαι σύκωι

60

33 τὰμὰ Groeneboom: ταλλα P <sup>αι</sup> χρησθ P <sup>ηδίκηγρυζω</sup> 34 ηγννηγρυζω P <sup>·σα·</sup> 36 λεπροσ P  
<sup>οιην</sup>  
 προσδ[[ωσω]] P 37-9 cit. Stob. 4. 23. 14 (iv. 575 Hense) 37 κοριττοι

P: κόρη τὸ Stob. <sup>·καλ·</sup> 38 σοφόν P, σοφὸν Stob. <sup>·σα·</sup> 36 λεπροσ P  
 θ fort. corr. ex σ, P 41 ἀ<λλὰ> Kaibel γλωσσαν P: corr. Meister 47 τί  
 μοι pler.: ημοι P 48 ἐρραψε P: corr. Kaibel <MH.> Headlam 55 του-  
 τωικυλαιθισ uel τουτωπυλαιθισ P 58 <'κ> Kaibel 60 ικασαισ P: corr.  
 Kenyon

- ἔχοις ἄν [οὔτ]ω· πλὴν ἐπὴν λαλήῃ, γνώσῃ  
 Κέρδων ὀτεύνεκ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχὶ Πρηξίνος.  
 κατ' οἰκίην δ' ἐργάζετ' ἐνπολέων λάθρῃ,  
 τοὺς γὰρ τελώνας πᾶσα νῦν θύρῃ φρίσσει.  
 ἀλλ' ἔργα, κοῖ' ἐστ' ἔργα· τῆς Ἀθηναίης 65  
 αὐτῆς ὀρῆν τὰς χεῖρας, οὐχὶ Κέρδωνος,  
 δόξεις. ἐ[γὼ] μὲν—δύο γὰρ ἦλθ' ἔχων, Μητροῖ—  
 ἰδοῦσ' ἅμ' ἰδμῇ τῶμματ' ἐξεκύμνα·  
 τὰ βαλλί' οὕτως ἄνδρες οὐχὶ ποιεύσι  
 —αὐταὶ γάρ εἰμεν—ὀρθά· κοῦ μόνον τοῦτο, 70  
 ἀλλ' ἡ μαλακότης ὕπνος, οἱ δ' ἱμαντίσκοι  
 ἔρι', οὐκ ἱμά[ν]τες]. εὐνοέστερον σκυτέα  
 γυναικ[ι] διφῶσ' ἄλλον οὐκ ἀνευρ[ή]σ[εις]. col. 33  
 ΜΗ. κῶς οὖν ἀφῆκας τὸν ἕτερον; <ΚΟ.> τ[ι] δ' οὐ, Μητροῖ,  
 ἔπρηξα; κοίην δ' οὐ προσήγαγ[ο]ν πειθοῦν 75  
 αὐτῷ; φιλεῦσα, τὸ φαλακρὸν κ[α]ταψῶσα,  
 γλυκὺν πιεῖν ἐγχεῦσα, ταταλίζ[ο]υσα,  
 τὸ σῶμα μόνον οὐχὶ δοῦσα χρήσασθαι.  
 ΜΗ. ἀλλ' εἴ σε καὶ τοῦτ' ἠξίωσ', ἔδει δοῦν[αι].  
 ΚΟ. ἔδει γάρ· ἀλλ' ἄκαιρον οὐ πρόποντ' εἶναι· 80  
 ἦλθεν ἡ Βιτᾶδος ἐν μέσῳ <Εὐ>βούλῃ·  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἡμέων ἡμέρην τε κα[ὶ] νύκτα  
 τρίβουσα τὸν ὄνον σκωρίην πεποιήκεν,  
 ὅκως τὸν ωὐτῆς μὴ τετρωβόλου κόψῃ.  
 ΜΗ. κῶς δ' οὗτος εὔρε πρόσ σε τὴν ὀδ[ὸ]ν ταύτην, 85  
 φίλῃ Κοριττοῖ; μηδὲ τοῦτό με ψεύσῃ.  
 ΚΟ. ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν Ἀρτεμείς ἡ Κανδᾶδος  
 τοῦ βυρσοδέψεω τὴν στέγην σημήνασα.  
 ΜΗ. αἰεὶ μὲν Ἀρτεμείς τι καινὸν εὐρίσ[κ]ει,  
 πρόσω πιεῦσα τὴν προκυκλίην θα...ν. 90  
 ἀλλ' οὖν γ' ὅτ' οὐχὶ τοὺς δύο εἶχες ἐγλῦσαι  
 ἔδει πυθέσθαι τὸν ἕτερον τίς ἡ ἐγδοῦσα. col. 34

63 κατοικεῖν P: corr. Rutherford

65 εργοκοῖ P: corr. Herwerden

67 ἐ[γὼ] Bücheler

68 ἀμ...η P: suppl. Meister

70 ε...μεν P: εἰμεν

Blass, ἐσμεν Jackson

73 ἀνευρ[ή]σ[εις] Headlam, Stadtmüller

81 ἡλη-

θενεργη P: γαρ del. Wilamowitz

βιτατος P: corr. Schulze

&lt;Εὐ&gt;βούλη Jevons,

Kaibel: δουλη P

87 κανδαττ P: corr. Schulze

89 εὐρίσ[κ]ει Crusius

90 θαμνην Blass

supra ηνθα. uestigia incerta, fort. νηnen, P

- ΚΟ. ἐλιπάρεον, ὁ δ' ὥ[μ]μνε οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν μοι·  
 †ταύτηι γὰρ καὶ ἡγάπησεν Μητροῖ.†
- <ΜΗ.> λέγεις ὁδόν μοι· νῦν πρὸς Ἀρτεμεῖν εἶμι, 95  
 ὅπως ὁ Κέρδων ὅστις ἐστὶν εἰδ[ή]σω.  
 ὑγίαινε μο[ι, Κοριτ]τί. λαιμῶι τ[ις], κῶρη  
 ἡμῖ[ν] ἀφ[.....] ἐστί. ΚΟ. τὴν θύρην κλείσον,  
 αὐτ[η σ]ύ, [. . .] . . . ὡπῶλι, κᾶξαμίθρησαι  
 αἰ ἀλεκτορ[ι]δες εἰ [σ]όαι εἰσί, τῶν τὲ αἰρέων 100  
 αὐτῆισ[.....]ν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ πορθεῖ[σ]ι  
 ὠρν[ι]θο[κ]λέ[π]ται, κῆν τρέφῃ τις ἐν κόλπῳ.

## 7. Σ]ΚΥΤ[Ε]ΥΣ

## ΜΗΤΡΩ

- Κέρδων, ἄγω σοι τάσδε τὰς [. . . . .] τι  
 τῶν σῶν ἔχεις αὐτῆισιν ἄξιον δεῖ[ξ]αι  
 χειρέων νοήρες ἔργον. ΚΕΡΔΩΝ οὐ μάτην, Μητροῖ,  
 ἐγὼ φ[ι]λ[έ]ω σε. τῆς γυναιξὶν οὐ θήσεις  
 τὴν μέζον' ἔξω στανίδα; Δριμύλῳ φωνέω· 5  
 πάλιν καθεύδεις; κόπτε, Πίστε, τὸ ρύγχος  
 αὐτοῦ, μέχρῃς τὸν ὕπνον ἐκχέῃ πάντα·  
 μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἄκαιθα[ν] ὥς ἐχ[. . .] . . . καλη col. 35  
 ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου δῆσο[ν]. εἴ[α] δῆ, [. . . . .]ψ,  
 κίνει ταχέως τὰ γούνα· [μ]έζον [. . . . .] 10  
 τρίβειν ψοφεῦντα νοῦθ[. . . . .] τῶνδε.  
 νῦν ἔκ μιν αὐτὴν λε[. . . . .] ρυνίς  
 κ. . . ψ[. . .] . . . σεν τη[. . . . .] ψήσω.

- 93 ω[. . .]νεν P: corr. Crusius 94 in marg. sup. litteris cursivis scr. P  
 95 εἶμι Rutherford: ιναι P 96 ιδ[. . .]σω P: suppl. Bücheler 97 μο[ι]  
 Κοριτ[ι] Bücheler λαιματ[. . .] P: corr. et suppl. Groeneboom 98 ἡμῖ[ν]  
 Bücheler ἀφ[έρπειν] Crusius 99 αὐτ[η σ]ύ Rutherford, Kaibel 98 ἡμῖ[ν]  
 Diels 100 αλ. κτ[. . .] . . . δεσ P: suppl. Crusius, Blass [σ]όαι Crusius, Palmer  
 101 αὐτῆισ[ι ρίψο]ν Blass πορθεῖ[. . .] P: suppl. Palmer, Kaibel, Blass 102 ὠρν-  
 [ι]θο[κ]λέ[π]ται Headlam  
 1 γ[ύ]νας Diels, γ[έ]ας Crusius εἴ[α] τι Ellis, Blass 4 φ[ι]λ[έ]ω Rutherford  
 ταισ P: corr. Cunningham 8 ]ν uel ]ι P 9 εἴ[α] Diels 10 [μ]έζον  
 Meister 11 νοῦθ[ετημάτων] Headlam ][[του]]τωνδε P 12 λαμπ[ρύνεις uel  
 ψ  
 φαιδ[ρύνεις] Headlam 13 κ. . . [ . . . ] P: κατ[ε] ψ[ή]ς; [έγώ] Knox

ἔξεσ[θ]ε, Μητροῖ. Πίστ[ε, ..... ο]ίξας  
 πυργίδα, μὴ τὴν ὠδ[ε, .....]ν 15  
 τὰ χρήσιμ' ἔργα τοῦ τρ[.....]ος  
 ταχέως ἔνεκγ' ἄνωθ[εν ..... Μη]τροῖ,  
 οἷ' ἔργ' ἐπόψεσθ'. ἡσυχῇ [.....]ον  
 τὴν <σ>αμβαλούχην οἷγ[ε .....] πρῶτον  
 Μητροῖ, τελέων ἄρ[η]ρε .....]ξων ἵχνος. 20  
 θηεῖσθε κύμε[ι]ς, ὦ γυ[ναῖκες· ἡ πτ]έρνη  
 ὀρήτ' ὅπως πέπηγε, χ[....]φην[...].οις  
 ἐξηρτίωται πᾶσα, κο[ῦ τ]ὰ μὲν κ[αλ]ῶς  
 τὰ δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ πα[ν]τ' ἴσαι χ[εῖρε]ς.  
 τὸ χρῶμα δ' οὕτως ὑμ[ε]ν ἢ Πα[...].δοίη 25  
 [. ....]ερ ἱχανᾶσθ' ἐπαυρέσθαι  
 [. ....]λο τῶιδ' ἴσον χρῶμα  
 κ[.....]ωκουδε κηρὸς ἀνθήσει  
 χ[.....]ς τρεῖς ἔδωκε Κανδᾶτ[.].  
 κ[.....] τοῦτο κῆτερον χρῶμα 30  
 β[.....]μι πάντ' ὅσ' ἐστὶ ἱ[ρ]ά  
 κω[.....] τὴν ἀληθ[ε]ι[η]ν βάζειν  
 .....] οὐδ' ὅσον ροπὴν ψεῦδος  
 .....] Κέρδωνι μὴ βίου ὄνησις  
 μ[.....]ων γίνοιτο κα[ί] χάριν πρὸς με 35  
 .....]αρ ἀλλὰ μεζόνων ἥδη  
 .....] κερδέων ὀριγνῶνται  
 .....] τὰ ἔργα τῆς τέχνης ἡμ[ε]ων  
 ....: π[ι]συγγος δὲ δειλαίην οἰζύν  
 .....]ναν[...].εων νύκτα κῆμέρην θάλπω 40  
 .....]ς ἡμέων ἄχρι<ς> ἐσπέρης κάπτει  
 ....]αι πρ[ὸς] ὄρθρον οὐ δοκέω τόσ<ς>ον  
 τὰ Μικίωνος κηρί' εὐπ[ ]  
 κοῦπω λέγω, τρισκαίδε[κ. .... β]όσκω, col. 3;

14 ἔξεσ[θ]ε Bücheler Πίστ[ε] Headlam οἷξας Diels 17 ἄνωθ[εν et  
 Μη]τροῖ Blass 19 <σ>αμβαλούχην Headlam, Bücheler, Blass οἷγ[ε] Bücheler  
 20 ἄρ[η]ρεν Blass 21 fin. suppl. Rutherford 22 οπως, π corr. ex ρ, P  
 23 suppl. Headlam, Blass 24 suppl. Crusius, Blass 31 ὁμνυ[μι] Blass  
 εστιν P: corr. Headlam ἱ[ρ]ά Blass 32 αλη[...].[...].ν P: suppl. Crusius  
 βαδιζειν P: corr. Crusius 36 οὐ γ[ὰρ] Bücheler 38 ἡμ[ε]ων Meister  
 39 ].υγος P: suppl. Blass 40 fort. ]ι P 41 ἄχρι<ς> Rutherford  
 42 τόσ<ς>ον Bücheler 43 μικρωνοσ P: corr. Crusius 44 β[ό]σκω Bücheler

οτεύνεκ', ὦ γυναῖκες, ἀργ[.....]ς 45

οἷ, κῆν ὕη Ζεύς, τοῦτο μοῦ[νον .....].

φέρ' εἰ φέρεις τι, τᾶλλα δ' ἀ[.].[.....].ται

ὅκως νεοσσο[ι] τὰς κοχῶνας θά[λ]π[ο]ντες.

ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων γάρ, φασίν, ἡ ἀγορή δεῖται

χαλκῶν δέ, τοῦτ' ἦν μὴ ὕμιν ἀ[ν]δάνηι, Μητρ[οῖ], 50

τὸ ζευγος, ἕτερον κᾶτε[ρ]ον μάλ' ἐξοίσει,

ἔστ' ἂν νόωι πεισθῇτε [μὴ λ]έγει[ν] ψευδέα

Κέρδωνα. τὰς μοι σα[μβα]λουχίδας πάσας

ἐνεγκε, Πίστε ... αλισγ. νηθειςας

ὕμέας ἀπελθεῖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, εἰς οἶκον. 55

θήσεσθε δ' ὕμ[εῖς·] γένεα ταῦτα πα[ν]τοῖα·

Σικυνώνι', Ἀμβρακίδια, Νοσσιδες, λείαι,

ψιττάκια, κανναβίσκα, Βαυκιδ[ες], βλαῦται,

Ἰωνίκ' ἀμφίσφαιρα, νυκτιπήδηκες,

ἀκροσφύρια, καρκίνια, σάμβαλ' Ἀργεῖα, 60

κοκκίδες, ἔφηβοι, διάβαθρα· ὧν ἐραῖ θυμός

ὕμέων ἐκάστης εἴπατ', ὥς ἂν αἰσθοισθε col. 38

σκύτεια γυναῖκες καὶ κύνες τί βρώζουσιν.

ΜΗ. κόσου χρεῖζεις κεῖν' ὃ πρόσθεν ἥειρας

ἀπεμπολῇ[σαι] ζευγος; ἀλλὰ μὴ βροντέων 65

οὔτος σὺ τρέψῃς μέζον εἰς φυγὴν ἡμέας.

ΚΕ. αὐτὴ σὺ καὶ τίμησον, εἰ θέλεις, αὐτό

καὶ στῆσον ἥς κότ' ἐστιν ἄξιον τιμῆς.

ὃ τοῦτο ξῶν γὰρ οὐ σε ρηιδίως ρινᾶι.

ζευγέων, γύναι, τῶληθες ἦν θέλῃς ἔργον, 70

ἐρεῖς τι—ναὶ μὰ τήνδε τὴν τεφρὴν κόρσην,

ἐπ' ἥς ἀλώπηξ νοσοῖσιν πεπορίητα[ι—

τάχ' ἀλφιτηρὸν ἐργα[λ]εῖα κινεῦσι.

Ἐρμῇ τε Κερδέων καὶ σὺ Κερδείῃ Πειθοῖ,

45 οτουνεκ P

46 μοῦ[νον] Crusius ]ι uel ]ν P

47 ]ψ[ uel ]φ[ P

48 οπωσ P κηχωνασ P: corr., et fin. suppl. Jackson, Danielsson 52 suppl.  
F. D. 53 suppl. Bücheler 56 med. suppl. Rutherford 58 ψιντακαια P:

corr. Rutherford βλαυτια P: corr. Herwerden 65 ἀπεμπολῇ[σαι] Blass,  
Ellis, Jackson 66 ουτοσ uel αυτοσ P 72 πεπορίητα[ι] Headlam

73 ἐργα[λ]εῖα Diels

- ὥς, ἣν τι μὴ νῦν ἦμιν ἐς βόλον κύρσει, 75  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἄμεινον ἢ χύτρη πρήξει.
- MH. τί τονθορύζεις κούκ ἐλευθέρηι γλάσσηι  
τὸν τίμον ὅστις ἐστὶν ἐξεδίφησας;
- KE. γύναι, μιῆς μνηῆς ἐστὶν ἄξιον τοῦτο  
τὸ ζεύγος· ἢ ἄνω 'σ<τ>' ἢ κάτω βλέπειν· χαλκοῦ 80 col. 39'  
ρίνημ' ὃ δῆκοτ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης  
ὠνευμένης αὐτῆς ἂν οὐκ ἀποστάξαι.
- MH. μάλ' εἰκότως σευ τὸ στεγύλλιον, Κέρδων,  
πέπληθε δαψιλέων τε καὶ καλῶν ἔργων.  
φύλασσε κάρτα σ' αὐτά· τῇ γὰρ εἰκοστήι 85  
τοῦ Ταυρεῶνος ἡκατὴ γάμον ποιεῖ  
τῆς Ἀρτακηνῆς, κύποδημάτων χρεΐη·  
τάχ' οὖν, τάλης, ἄιξουσι σὺν τύχηι πρὸς σε,  
μᾶλλον δὲ πάντως. ἀλλὰ θύλακον ράψαι  
τὰς μνέας ὅπως σοι μὴ αἰ γαλαῖ διοίσουσι. 90
- KE. ἦν τ' ἡκατ<ῆ> ἔλθῃ, μνηῆς ἔλασσον οὐκ οἶσει,  
ἦν τ' ἢ Ἀρτακηνή. πρὸς τὰδ', εἰ θέλεις, σκέπτειν.
- MH. οὐ σοι δίδωσιν ἢ ἀγαθὴ τύχη, Κέρδων,  
ψαῦσαι ποδίσκων ὦν Πόθοι τε κῆρωτες  
ψαύουσιν; ἀλλ' εἷς κυῦσα καὶ κακὴ λώβῃ 95  
ᾧστ' ἐκ μὲν ἡμέων †λιολεοσεω† πρήξεις.  
ταύτῃ δὲ δώσεις κε[ῖ]νο τὸ ἕτερον ζεύγος  
κόσου; πάλιν πρήμηνον ἀξίην φωνήν  
σεωντοῦ. <KE> στατῆρας πέντε, ναὶ μὰ θεούς, φο[ι]τᾶι  
ἢ ψάλτρι' <Εὐ>ετηρὶς ἡμέρην πᾶσαν 100  
λαβεῖν ἀνώγουσ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μιν [ἐ]χθ[α]ίρω,  
κῆν τέσσαρας μοι Δαρικοὺς ὑπόσχηται,  
ὀτεύνεκέν μευ τὴν γυναῖκα τρωθάζει  
κακοῖσι δέννοισ'· εἰ δ[.....].ι χρεΐη  
φερευλαβου< > τῶν τριῶν [...] δοῦναι 105

77 τονθορυζεισ P: corr. Rutherford 80 'σ<τ>' Headlam 85 κα..α  
P: suppl. Blass 91 ηκατελθῃ P: corr. Rutherford 92 ηντῃ P: corr.  
Herwerden, Piccolomini 96 λιρ(uel σ)λεοσεω P 98 αξιαν P: corr.  
Herwerden 99 σεωντοῦ in uersu om., σεωτου in marg., σεωντου στατῃ ο in  
marg. sup. add. P 100 <Εὐ>ετηρὶς Blass, Rutherford 102 δαρεικουσ P:  
corr. Diels 103 στουνεκεν P: corr. Rutherford

καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ταῦτ' ἦι ὕμιν ἐπτὰ Δαρεικῶν  
 ἔκητι Μητροῦς τῆσδε· μηδὲν ἀντείπηις.  
 δύ]ναιτό μ' ἐλάσαι σαν[.] τὸν πίσ[υγγον  
 ἐόντα λίθινον ἐς θεοὺς ἀναπτῆμα·  
 ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλάσσαν, ἡδονῆς δ' ἡθμόν.  
 αἶ, θεῶν ἐκείνος οὐ μακρὴν ἀπ[...].  
 ὁτέωι σὺ χεῖλεα νύκτα κῆμέρην οἷγ[εις].  
 φέρ' ὦδε τὸν ποδίσκον· εἰς ἱ<χ>νος θῶ...  
 πάζ· μήτε προσθῆις μήτ' ἀπ' οὖν ἔλληι[s] μηδέν·  
 τὰ καλὰ πάντα τῆς καλῆσιν ἀρμόζει·  
 αὐτὴν ἐρεῖς τὸ πέλμα τὴν Ἀθηναίην  
 τεμεῖν. δὸς αὐτῇ καὶ σὺ τὸν πόδ'· αἶ, ψωρῇ  
 ἄρηρεν ὀπλή· βοῦς ὁ λακτίσας ὑμ<έ>ας.  
 εἴ τις πρ[ὸ]ς ἱχνος ἡκόνησε τὴν σμίλην,  
 οὐκ ἄν, μὰ τὴν Κέρδωνος ἐστίην, οὕτω  
 τοῦργον σαφέως ἔκειτ' ἄν ὥς σαφ<έ>ως κείται.  
 αὕτη σύ, δώσεις ἐπτὰ Δαρικοὺς τοῦδε,  
 ἡ μέζον ἵππου πρὸς θύρην κιχλίζουσα;  
 γυναῖκες, ἣν ἔχητε κητέρων χρεῖην  
 ἡ σαμβαλίσκων ἡ ἃ κατ' οἰκίην ἔλκειν  
 εἴθισθε, τὴν μοι δουλ[ίδ]' ὦδε <δεῖ> πέμπειν.  
 σὺ δ' ἦκε, Μητροῖ, πρὸς με τῇ ἐνάτῃ πάντως  
 ὅκως λάβηις καρκίνια· τὴν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην  
 θάλπουσαν εὖ δεῖ ἔνδον φρονεῦντα †καὶ† ράπτειν.

110

115

col. 41

120

125

## 8. ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΝ

ἄσθηθι, δούλη Ψύλλα· μέχρι τέο κείσῃ  
 ρέγχουσα; τὴν δὲ χοῖρον αὐονὴ δρύπτει·

- 106 ταυταυτα P: corr. Kenyon      108 δύ]ναιτό Bücheler      σ<ή> ἄν [ιῆ] Knox  
 πίσ[υγγον] Knox      109 εονταληθινον P: corr. Headlam      110 ηθμην uel  
 ηθμην P: corr. Bücheler      111 ἀπε[στ' ὦν]ήρ Blass      112 οἷγ[εις] Blass  
 113 ἱ<χ>νος Blass      θῶ μιν Blass, θῶμην Hicks      117 ποδα dist. Headlam  
 118 ὑμ<έ>ας Rutherford      121 σαφ<έ>ως Rutherford      126 δουλ[ίδ]' pler.  
 <δεῖ> Rutherford, Bücheler, Blass      πεμπετε[[ι]] P      129 φρονουντα P: corr.  
 Meister

ἢ προσμένεις σὺ μέχρῃς εὖ ἥλιος θάλψῃ  
 τὸ]ν κῦσον ἐσδύς; κῶς δ', ἄτρυτε, κοῦ κάμνεις col. 42  
 τὰ πλ]ευρὰ κνώσσουσ'; αἱ δὲ νύκτες ἐννέωροι. 5  
 ἄστη]θι, φημί, καὶ ἄψον, εἰ θέλεις, λύχνον,  
 καὶ τ]ὴν ἄναυλον χοῖρον ἐς νομὴν πέμψ[ον.  
 τ]όρθρυξε καὶ κνῶ, μέχρῃς εὖ παραστά[ς σοι  
 τὸ] βρέγμα τῷ σκίπῳι μαλθακὸν θῶμα[ι.  
 δει]λὴ Μεγαλλί, κα[ῖ] σὺ Λάτμιον κνώσσεις; 10  
 οὐ] τὰ ἑριά σε τρύχ[ο]υσιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν στέμμε[α  
 ἐπ' ἱρὰ διζόμεσ[θ]α· βαιὸς οὐκ ἦμιν  
 ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ ἔτι μα[λ]λὸς εἰρίων. δειλή,  
 ἄστηθι. σύ τε μοι τ[οῦ]ναρ, εἰ θέλεις, Ἀννᾶ,  
 ἄκουσον· οὐ γὰρ νη[πία]ς φρένας βόσκεῖς. 15  
 τράγον τιν' ἔλκειν [διὰ] φάραγγος ὠνήθη[ν  
 μακρῆς, ὃ δ' εὐπώ[γω]ν τε κεῦκερως [  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ [...]. τῆς βήσεως  
 η[...σφα[.....] γὰρ ἔσσωμαι  
 συ[.....]ες αἰπόλοι πλε[ 20  
 τη[.....]ριωντεποιεῖν[  
 κῆγὼν οὐκ ἐσύλευν [...].(.)[ col. 43  
 καὶ ἄλλης δρυὸς [...].ε.[  
 οἱ δ' ἀμφικαρτα[....]τεσ[  
 τὸν αἰγ' ἐποίευν [...].π[ 25  
 καὶ [π]λησίον με[....].  
 κ[.....]νμα[....].ω[  
 σχ[.....]κροκωτ[....]φι[  
 ω[.....]λεπτῆς ἄντυγος ....[  
 σ[.....]ς δὲ νεβροῦ χλαν[ι]δίω[ι] κατέζω[στ]ο 30  
 κ[.....].ν κύπα[σσι]ν ἀμ[φ]ι τοῖ[ς] ὥμοις

- 3 θαψ[η] P 4 init. suppl. Headlam, Crusius, Diels 5 init. suppl.  
 pler. 6 init. suppl. Diels a[σ]ψ[ησ]ον, ψ ex τ corr., P 8 παραστά[ς]  
 Vogliano, σοι Sitzler 9 init. suppl. Headlam 10 init. suppl. Palmer  
 11 οὐ] Palmer 13 μα[λ]λὸς Bücheler 14 τ[...]. P: suppl. Blass  
16 [διὰ] Crusius 17 εὐπώ[γω]ν Crusius  
18 [...]. (tres hastae) P e.g. ]α 19 η[ P 20 ]τ uel ]χ P 22 ]εϛ[ ]η[ P  
23 ]χ uel ]τ P 24 ρ[ ρ[ ε[ P 25 εποιουν P: corr. Meister 26 ]χ[ uel  
]μ[ P 27 fort. ]α μ[ uel λ.[ P ]τ uel ]χ P 30 κατέζω[στ]ο Herzog  
 31 suppl. Crusius



κο[.....] ἀμφὶ κρ[ητὶ κ]ίσει[ν] ἔστεπτο  
 ..... κο[θόρνου[....]η κα[τ]αζώστρη  
 .....]ωμεντο[....].α[.....] φρίκη[.  
 .....]ωρηνιχ[....].θι[.....]  
 .....]ο λῶπο[ς ...]κον [πε]ποιῆσθαι  
 ..... Ὀδ]υσσέως ω[.....] Αἰόλ[ου] δῶρον  
 .....]φ[.....]το[....]α λακτίζειν  
 .....]εγ[.....].εν[..] λῶιστον  
 ὥσπερ τελεῦμεν ἐγ χοροῖς Διωνύσου.  
 κοὶ μὲν μετώποις ἐ[ς] κόνιν κολυμβῶ[ντες  
 ἔκοπτον ἀρνευτήρ[ε]ς ἐκ βίης οὐδας,  
 οἱ δ' ὕπτι' ἐρριπτεῦντο· πάντα δ' ἦν, Ἀνν[ᾱ,  
 εἰς ἐν γέλως τε κἀνίη [.....]εντα.  
 κἀγὼ δόκεον δις μ. [...]. ἐκ τ[ό]σης λείης  
 ἐπ' οὖν ἀλέσθαι, κηλάλαξαν ὠνθρωπ[οι  
 ὥς μ' εἶδ[ον ..]ως τήν δο[ρῆ]ν πιεξεῦσαν  
 καὶ φ[.....]τ[.....]  
 οἶδε[.....]  
 γρυπ[.....]  
 ρυπ[.....]  
 τ[.....]  
 τ[.....]  
 [.....]  
 [.....]  
 [.....]  
 τὰ δεινὰ πνεῦσαι λάξ πατε[.....]  
 ἔρρ' ἐκ προσώπου μή σε καίτη[ερ ὦν πρέσβυς  
 οὔληι κατ' ἰθ[ύ]ν τῇ βατηρίῃ κό[ψω].

35

40 col. 44

45

50

55

col. 45

60

32 suppl. Knox <sup>επ</sup>εστικτο P

33 κα[τ]αζώστρη Knox

34 ]σ(ε

minus prob.)α.(hasta, prob. non ι)[ P

36 ]ω P

λῶπο[ς Bücheler [πε]-

ποιῆσθαι Milne

37 Ὀδ]υσσέως Bücheler

ω[ P Αἰόλ[ου] Knox

40 διονυσου P: corr. Kenyon

45 μοῦ[νο]ς Herzog

46 suppl. Crusius

47 εἶδ[ον] Knox

δο[ρῆ]ν Crusius

πιεξεῦντα Knox

59-60 cit. Sch. Nic.

Ther. 377

59 ερρ P: φ(ε)ύγωμεν Sch.

καίπερ ὦν Diels: καίτ[ P: ἐκπερῶν

uel ἐμπεσῶν Sch.

60 οὔληι Sch.: οληι P

κατιθῦ Sch. cod. V, κατ' εὐθῦ

cett.: κατι.[.] P

τη P: om. Sch.

κό[ψω] Weil: καλύψηι Sch.

κήγῶ μεταῦτις· ὦ παρεόν[τες  
 θανεύμ' ὑπὲρ γῆς, εἰ δ' γέρων μ[  
 μαρτύρ[ο]μαι δὲ τὸν νεην[ίην  
 ὁ δ' εἶπεν [ᾗ]μφω τὸν δορέα .[  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἰ[δ]ὼν ἔληξα. τὸ ἔνδυ[τον  
 ...]ναδ[...]. ὦδε. τῶναρ ὦδ' ἰ[  
 .....]ν αἶγα τῆς φ[άραγγος] ἐξεῖλκον  
 ..... κ[αλοῦ δῶρον ἐκ Δ[ιων]ύσου  
 ..... αἰ[πόλοι μιν ἐκ βίης] [ἐδ]αιτρεῦντο  
 τ[ὰ] ἔνθεα τελεῦντες καὶ κρεῶ[ν] ἐδαινυντο,  
 τὰ μέλεα πολλοὶ κάρτα, τοὺς ἔμους μόχθους,  
 τιλεῦσιν ἐν Μούσησιν. ὠδεγῶ[ ]το.  
 τὸ μῆν ἄεθλον ὥς δόκευν ἔχ[ει]ν μούσος  
 πολλῶν τὸν ἄπνουν κώρυκον πατησάντων,  
 κῆ τῶι γέροντι ξύν' ἔπρηξα ὀρινθέντι,  
 ..] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἥ μ' ἔπεα κ[  
 .]εγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἥ με δευτέρῃ γν[  
 .]... μετ' Ἰππώνακτα τὸν παλαι[  
 τ[ὰ] κύλλ' αἰεῖδεν Ξουθίδης †επιουσι†.

65

70

75

col. 46

## 9. ΑΠΟΝΗΣΤΙΖΟΜΕΝΑΙ

.]ζεσθε πᾶσαι. κοῦ τὸ παιδίον; δεξ[  
 .]αιτ[.]ος Εὐέτειραν καὶ Γλύκην .[  
 .]ιτ[....]αιδρη τῇν ἐτοῖμον ου[  
 .....].ισμησε[.]ισματων[  
 .....].ινατ[.....]νηνυτω[

5

- 62 εἰ: ι uel φ uel ψ P      64 [ᾗ]μφω Crusius      65 ἔνδυ[τον] Crusius  
 66 Ἄν[ν]α δ[ός] Knox    τοῦναρ Knox      67–75 fines seruantur in O  
 67 φ[άραγγος] Crusius    ἐξ[...]. O, ]ιλκον P (suppl. Kenyon)      68 κ[αλοῦ  
 Knox    ἐκ uel εἰρ P    [...].σου P, ]σου O: suppl. Knox      69 αἰ[πόλοι] Bücheler  
 ]αιτρευντο O, ]τρευντο P: suppl. Milne      70 τ[ὰ] Crusius    κρεῶ[....]νυντο P,  
 ]αμεδαινυντο O: suppl. Weil      71 ε[ P, ]μουσ O (suppl. Crusius)    μοχθους OP  
 72 ὠδεγῶ [.(.)]. P, ]το O      73 δοκουν P: corr. Weil    ]μουνοσ O  
 74 .]πατησαντων O      75 ]ρινθεντι O      79 ξουθιδαισ P: corr. Cunningham  
 ι ἐ]ζεσθε Kenyon    2 κ[αὶ π[ρ]ός Crusius    β[ uel μ[ P    4 μῆ σε [κν]ισμάτων  
 Crusius      5 ἀ]νηνύτω[s] Knox

.....].η[.....]αχηπεπο[  
 .....].[.....]φερεσκο.[  
 .ρ[.]οδ[.....]α δειλαίοις βλε[  
 φερω...[.....].ακαιτανυ[  
 αυτησυ.[.....].εται νο[  
 ουπροσθα[.....]νισηξ[  
 τίθεσθ' α.[.....]ἄ]εθλον ἐξοι[  
 γληχ[.....]κεῦσί σ' ἥειρα

10

8 ]ολ.[ minus prob.      9 fort. φερωψ P      ]κ uel ]μ P      10 ]τ uel ]χ P  
 νο[  
 [[φρ[ P      13 το]κεῦσί Knox

## 10. ΜΟΛΠΙΝΟΣ

ἐπὴν τὸν ἐξηκοστὸν ἥλιον κάμψης,  
 ὦ Γρύλλε, Γρύλλε, θνήσκε καὶ τέφρη γίνευν·  
 ὥς τυφλὸς οὐπέκεινα τοῦ βίου καμπτήρ·  
 ἥδη γὰρ αὐγὴ τῆς ζοῆς ἀπήμβλυνται.

1-3 cit. Stob. 4. 50b. 56 (v. 1042 H.), 4 cit. Stob. 4. 50b. 55 (v. 1041 H.):  
 coniunxit Salmasius      tit. Μολπίνος Meineke: ἐκ μολπεινου codd.      3 οὐπέ-  
 κεινα Porson: ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνο codd.      4 αὐγὴ Salmasius: αὕτη codd.      ζοῆς ten  
 Brink post Porson: ζωῆς codd.      ἀπήμβλυντο codd.: corr. Salmasius

## 11. ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΑΙ

προσφὺς ὅκως τις χοιράδων ἀνηρίτης

cit. Ath. 86b      προσφῦς Böheler      ἀναρίτης codd.: corr. Meineke

12. *Ex incerto mimiambo*

ἢ χαλκήν μοι μυῖαν ἢ κύθρην παίζει  
 ἢ τῆσι μηλάνθισιν ἄμματ' ἐξάπτων  
 τοῦ κεσκίου μοι τὸν γέροντα λωβᾶται.

cit. Stob. 4. 24d. 51 (iv. 617 H.)      1 χαλκήν cod. A: χαλκαίην codd. MS  
 μυῖαν codd. AM: μυῖην cod. S      2 ταῖς(σ)ι codd.: corr. Meineke      μηλάνθασιν  
 codd.: corr. Gaisford      3 κεσκέου codd.: corr. Salmasius      λωβῆται codd.:  
 corr. Knoch

13. *Ex incerto mimiambo*

ὥς οἰκίην οὐκ ἔστιν εὐμαρέως εὐρεῖν  
 ἄνευ κακῶν ζώουσιν· ὅς δ' ἔχει μείον,  
 τοῦτόν τι μέζον τοῦ ἐτέρου δόκει πρήσσειν.

cit. Stob. 4. 34. 27 (v. 834 H.)      3 τούτου codd.: corr. Schneidewin      μείζον  
 codd.: corr. Meister      δοκεῖ codd.: corr. Schneidewin

## COMMENTARY

### 1

**SUBJECT.** (a) Metriche, sitting alone at home, receives a visit from Gyllis. The latter explains why she has not been to see her for so long. (b) G. gives, obliquely, the reason for her visit: Mandris has been in Egypt for almost a year, and has clearly settled there; if M. is not careful, she will be old before she realizes it; she should enjoy herself while she can, and the opportunity is at hand: Gryllos is desperately in love with her; she ought to yield, at least this once. M. firmly, but without anger, rejects the proposition: she is faithful to Mandris. (c) G. accepts some wine and departs.

**CHARACTERS.** M. is generally regarded as the wife of Mandris ('récemment mariée' according to Groeneboom), but it is much more likely that she is a *ἑταίρα* (P. Quillard in his transl., 1900, and Herzog): a wife would be less likely to be tempted by wealth (54, 65), and would not be placed on the same level as the *ἑταῖραι* of 89 (cf. *CR* n.s. xv [1965], 7 n. 1). Hds. does not elaborate the matter, because it is irrelevant to his purpose.

G. may have been M.'s nurse (7 n.), and nurses frequently act as intermediaries (e.g. E. *Hipp.*, Theoc. 2. 70). She is old, like the *lena* Dipsas in Ov. *Am.* 1. 8, and old women can be dangerous (cf. Naumach. *apud* Stob. 4. 23. 7, 42 μήτε γραῦν ποτε σοῖσι κακὴν δέξαιο μελάβροις· πολλῶν γρῆες ἔπερσαν εὐκτιτα δώματα φωτῶν). She likes wine, again like Dipsas, and like the *lena* in Prop. 4. 5. 75 and many old women in New Comedy and in epigrams. Yet again like Dipsas she *eloquio lingua nocente* <non> caret, especially in her repeated return to the theme of old age.

**STRUCTURE.** The poem divides naturally into three parts (cf. 4 and especially 6). The second, consisting of G.'s arguments and their rejection by M., is noteworthy for G.'s repeated return to one topic, the horrors of old age, and for M.'s refutation of her by twisting her words against her (cf. 73 sqq. with 19, 22, and 37).

**PURPOSE.** Hds. clearly sets out to delineate a temptress. The 'virtue' of M., emphasized by some, is merely a foil to this. The praise of Egypt and its king in 23 sqq. is also incidental, and cannot be regarded as making the poem a dedicatory one to Ptolemy (Bücheler). Herzog's

idea that it is a realistic reply to the artificialities of Theoc. 2 and 14 is fantastic.

SOURCES. The *μαστροπός* was one of the characters acted by *μαγωνίδοι* (Intr. II, § 5), and was at least mentioned by Sophr. (69). One of the plays of Philpidd. was so entitled (Kock, *CAF* iii. 305).

TITLE. *προκυκλῖς* is otherwise known only from Hsch., who explains it as *ἡ προμνήστρια*; the adj. *προκύκλιος*, in the sense 'like a *προκυκλῖς*', possibly occurs in 6. 90 (*προκύκλιοι θεοί* at Erythrai [*SIG* 1014. 30]—cf. S. Eitrem, *Opferitus*, 58, and a month *Προκύκλιος* at Aitolos [*GDI* 1844. 2] are of doubtful relevance). *μαστροπός* is on the other hand a common term; hence Kaibel may be right in deleting it (and the similar addition in the title of 6) as an explanatory gloss; the title of Theoc. 26, *Λῆναι ἢ Βάκχαι*, is similar. Double titles in drama are generally thought to be a grammarians' device to distinguish plays with the same title.

SCENE. Apart from the fact that it is set in a town, there is no evidence. For the oath by the *Μοῖραι* see on 11.

DATE. After c. 272/1 B.C. (see on 30).

1. Θ[ρέις]σ': restored from 79. Slaves, male and female, were frequently named after their place of origin: so, e.g., *Λυδός* and *Λυδή*, *Σύρος* and *Σύρη*, *Φρύξ* and *Φρυγία*. *Θρέισσα* (\**Θράισσα* [Att. *Θράισσα*, *Θράιττα*] > Ion. *Θρήισσα* > later Ion. *Θρέισσα*, as *χρηίζω* [χρήζω] > *χρείζω*, 7. 64; cf. Thumb-Scherer, *Hbd. d. gr. Dial.* 256) occurs elsewhere only in St. Byz. s.v. *Θράικη*; *Θρέιξ* is restored *metri causa* in Archil. 46. 1, 98. 6.

*ἀράσσει*: normally of violent knocking (cf. 2. 63, E. *IT* 1308 *τίς . . . ἴστησιν βοήν, πύλας ἀράσας καὶ ψόφον πέμψας ἔσω*;), but here synonymous with *κόπτειν*, *κρούειν*; cf. the Cyrillic gloss *ἀράττων· κρούων* (*Συν. λεξ. χρησ.*, *Suda* α 3745, Hsch. α 6986). Conversely in 2. 50 *κόπτειν* is used of violent knocking.

*οὐκ ὄψει . . .*; = *ἴδε*, cf. 3. 60, 7. 4.

2. μ[η] τ[ις] is the best supplement: *εἴ τις* (Rutherford) is too short for the space, *τίς τῶν* (Jackson) too long (the traces are too slight to decide, but *μ* is more likely than *ι* or *τ*). In earlier Greek *μή* with the indic. after verbs like *ὀρᾶν*, *σκοπεῖν*, expresses the object of an apprehension in the present and is not simply interrogative (*GMT* 369. 1, *KG* ii. 395); but already in Pl. the apprehension may be scarcely perceptible, e.g. *La.* 196 c *ὀρῶμεν μή Νικίας οἴεται τι λέγειν* (hence also the use of *μή* independently in cautious assertions, see Thompson on *Men.* 89 c), and has here vanished completely.

**παρ' ἡμέων** is difficult. It must be taken with ἡκει (as *X. Cyr.* 4. 5. 53 τῶι παρὰ Κρυζάρου ἦκοντι), but cannot simply mean 'from us'. 'From our people' is difficult to extract from the words, and in any case there is no other indication that M.'s position in life is such that she would have a farm or estate. An ellipse of οἰκίην would be impossibly ambiguous (contrast 5. 52; with εἰς, ἐξ, and ἐν there can be no ambiguity). If τίς τῶν were correct it would be easier: 'who of our agents' (cf. *X. An.* 1. 1. 5 ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως) or 'which of the household' (Headlam); but again there is the difficulty of M.'s having servants in the country. παρ' ἡμέας (Rutherford) cuts the knot and may well be right (corruption by attraction to the following genit.).

**ἐξ ἀγροικίης**: 'from the country'. In later Greek ἀγροικία replaces ἀγρός in this sense, e.g. *Plu. Mor.* 519 a οἱ δὲ πολυπράγμονες . . . φεύγοντες τὴν ἀγροικίαν εἰς τὸ δεῖγμα καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ὠθοῦνται. Omission of article as in ἐξ ἀγροῦ (*Men. Per.* 174 etc.). The original reading of P, ἀποικίης, though defended by Crusius and Herzog, can hardly be correct: ἀποικία always means 'colony', never 'far away' or 'abroad' in general (so in *Hdt.* 4. 147. 1, quoted by Crusius, the reference is to an earlier Laconian settlement in Thera), though this sense is theoretically possible.

3. τίς τὴν θύρην; sc. ἤραξεν; cf. *Ar. Ra.* 38 τίς τὴν θύρην ἐπάταξεν;

**ἐγῶδε**: i.e. ἐγὼ ἥδε (recognized by Blass); 'I here', cf. *Od.* 22. 367 ἐγὼ μὲν ὅδ' εἰμί, *A.R.* 4. 1036 ἥδ' ἐγὼ ἦ . . . For the sequence of question and answer cf. *Ar. Ach.* 45 τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; — ἐγώ. — τίς ὦν; — Ἀμφίθεος.

**δειμαίνεις**: apparently the earliest example of this verb with the infin. (see *LSJ*).

4. ἦν ἰδού: *Pratin. Lyr.* 1 (708). 14, *E. Her.* 867, *Ar. Pax* 327, *Ra.* 1390, and sophistic prose; cf. Wilamowitz on *E. Her.* 867 and 1131. The equivalent ἦνιδε occurs in *Theoc.*, *Call.*, and elsewhere (*Page* on *Mel.* 4092 [*AP* 12. 117. 1]).

5. Γυλλίς: only here, though the masc. Γύλ(λ)ις is found; cf. also *Γύλιππος*, *Γύλων*, *Γύλως*, *Γυλίδας*.

**Φιλαινίδος**: so P in the margin, having in the text apparently φιλαῖνου (not φιλαιν[ι]ου as previously reported, printed by all edd. except Rutherford, Knox, and Cataudella). Philainis was the name of a famous ἑταίρα (cf. the choliambic defence of her by Aeschro 6), and the name became typical of such women. G.'s character is immediately indicated. Φιλαινίου would do likewise, but less clearly.

6. ἄγγελον: the usual word in these circumstances, e.g. *E. Hel.* 447 ἄγγελον εἶσω δεσπόταισι τοῖσι σοῖς . . .

**ἔνδον**: εἶσω would be expected, as in *E. I.c.*, but ἔνδον with verbs of

or implying motion is found in Men. *Epit.* 354, 755 (λαβεῖν), A.R. 1. 906 (πέμπειν), and not uncommonly later.

παρεῦσαν: P definitely has *παρουσαν* (the circle of the ο is incomplete, as in, e.g., 30 τέμενος where the last two letters are identical, C; there is no trace of the long cross-bar of Ε).

7. The division of this line among the three speakers and the interpretation of *καλεῖ* have been much disputed. P has a *paragraphos* at the beginning and a space after *εστιν*. I accept the solution of Danielsson and Herwerden (accepted also by Hertling, and substantially by Groeneboom and Herzog), which assumes that the slave means to say *καλεῖ σε Γυλλίς* (cf. Men. *Fr.* 110 τὴν θύραν κόψας ἐγὼ καλῶ τιν' αὐτῶν), but is interrupted by M.'s eager question; she finally gets out *Γυλλίς*, and M. exclaims *ἀμμή Γυλλίς* (Groeneboom and Herzog take this as a question, but then one would expect an answer). The main rival to this view is that of Blass, modified by Headlam, and accepted by most edd.: *MH.* *κάλει. τίς ἔστιν; ΓΥ.* *Γυλλίς, ἀμμή Γυλλίς* (*καλέω* being used of inviting a visitor to enter from Hom. [Od. 10. 230-1 ἦ (Kirke) δ' αἰψ' ἐξελθοῦσα θύρας ὥξε φαεινὰς καὶ κάλει] on). The decisive objection was made by Groeneboom: one does not invite a visitor to enter and then ask who it is, but vice versa. To separate *τις* and *ἔστιν* (*MH.* *καλεῖ τίς; ΘΡ.* *ἔστιν Γυλλίς. MH.* *ἀμμή Γυλλίς; Nicholson, MH.* *καλεῖ τίς; ΓΥ.* *ἔστιν Γυλλίς, ἀμμή Γυλλίς* Tucker) or to take *καλεῖ* (-ῆι) as 2nd pers. pass. (Ludwich, Meister) seems unnatural; the former also ignores the space in P. No other interpretation or conjecture is worth mentioning.

*ἀμμή*: the word is elsewhere found only in Hsch. α 3697 and *EM* 84. 24 (the related *ἄμμα* is known also from inscr. and papyri, *LSJ* s.v. with addenda), who give the meanings *μήτηρ* and *τροφός*. It is clearly a child's word. G. may well have been foster-mother to M., though it might merely be an affectionate address to an old woman (cf. Men. *Dysc.* 495). On the necessity of restoring Ionic -ῆ see Schmidt 19-20.

8. *στρέψον τι*: probably 'turn away a little', i.e. 'leave us' (47-8 show that she does leave); cf. the more violent order to the slave in 6. 15-16. The closest parallels to this intrans. use of *στρέφειν* are various military phrases in X., especially *Ages.* 2. 3 οἱ μὲν *Θετταλοὶ . . . στρέψαντες βάδην ἀνεχώρουν* and *An.* 4. 3. 32 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὰναντία *στρέψαντες ἔφευγον*; cf. also Pl. *Com.* 92 ἡναγκαζόμεν *στρέψαι* δεῦρο; similarly *ἀποστρέφειν* Th. 6. 67. 3. Tucker explained it as 'turn the door on its hinges, i.e. open it', and is followed by among others Hertling and Herzog; they compare *στρεπτήρ* and *στροφεύς*, but have no example of the verb. Also the point of *τι* is not easy to see: Herzog thinks M. wishes the door opened only a little so that she can ensure that it is really G. before allowing her in, but something to show that she is satisfied would then surely follow. If this explanation were



adopted, it would be best to write *τριδούλη* with van Leeuwen (*apud* Groeneboom).

μῶϊρ': M. rather ironically stresses the fateful, destined nature of G.'s visit.

9. Γυλλίς: nomin. for voc. as in 11, but *Γυλλί* 18, 67 (n.), 82, 84; probably *metri causa*, although the regular form would be metrically possible. Cf. Schmidt 92 sqq.

ρος

π[ . ]ρ P, i.e. probably *παρ'* corrected to *πρός*. *παρ'* has been defended, most recently by Puccioni, but against it is the fact that Hds. has *παρά* with accus. only in 5. 52 (in a different sense; but cf. 2 n.), while he has *πρός* with accus. frequently. (*παρά* in the literal sense disappears in later Greek, Schwyzer ii. 496 Anm. 1.)

τί σὺ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους: i.e. τί σὺ εἶ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἦκουσα (identification, not comparison, cf. 6. 14 n.). Gods visit mortals rarely, and only to do some great favour: the irony is continued. Cf. Pl. *Sph.* init. etc.

10. πέντε: not exactly 'five', but 'half a dozen', cf. 3. 24. Denniston 492 cites several cases in Hdt. of *κον* in such numerical approximations.

δοκέω: parenthetical, as A. *Pr.* 289 τό τε γάρ με, δοκῶ, ξυγγενὲς οὕτως ἐσαναγκάζει, Pl. *Prm.* 126 b τῷ μὲν γὰρ πατρί, δοκῶ, Πυριλάμπης ὄνομα, Call. *Epigr.* 46. 5 τοῦτο, δοκέω, χά λιμὸς ἔχει μόνον ἐς τὰ πονηρὰ τῷγαθόν, cf. also *Fr.* 203. 33. The use is therefore not peculiarly Ion., as some edd. claim (perhaps an inference from the not exactly parallel Ar. *Pax* 47).

11. οὐδ': English does not use a negat. in such clauses, concentrating on the interval since the event last took place; most languages look at the period during which the event has not taken place. So Theoc. 2. 4 ὅς μοι δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ᾧ τάλας οὐδὲ ποθίκει, Plaut. *Most.* 479 *septem menses sunt quam in hasce aedis pedem nemo intro tetulit*, French *il y a cinq mois que tu n'es venue*.

οὐδ' ὄναρ: 'not even in a dream', a frequent emphatic negat.

μὰ τὰς Μοίρας: in the few other authors in whom these deities are sworn by or invoked there is a clear reference to one or other of their functions. Here one might regard the oath as a continuation of M.'s irony (see on 8 and 9); however in 66 and 4. 30 they seem of no special relevance, and one is forced to conclude that Hds., for reasons not known, had a liking for them. (The widely accepted inference of Weil, that it was a peculiarly Koan oath, falls when the lack of evidence for a close relationship between Hds. and Kos is realized, Intr. I, § 4).

13. μακρήν: purely an adv., with no ellipse of *ὁδόν* or anything else (Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 681).

μακρὴν ἀποικέω: Th. 3. 55. ἰ ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. Cf. in a similar context Theoc. 15. 7 ἂ δ' ὁδὸς ἄτρυτος· τὸ δ' ἑκαστέρω αἰὲν ἀποικεῖς.

λαύρηις: 'lanes', an Ion. word which came thence into the κοινή. In Hippon. 61 it is said to mean κοπρῶν (perhaps also in 92. 10, although the normal sense would be possible there; cf. also Hippon. *apud* Hdn. Gr. καθ. προσ. [ed. H. Hunger, *Jahr. d. öst. byz. Gesell.* xvi (1967)] p. 4, fr. 3): the explanation is given by Sch. Ar. *Pax* 99 λαύρας ἐκάλουν τὰς στενὰς ῥύμας ἔνθα πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἐστίν, ἥ τοὺς ῥυπαροὺς τόπους.

14. For muddy streets cf. Ar. *V.* 259 with Starkie's note.

ἰγνύων: from ἰγνύς; the commoner form is ἰγνύη, see *LSJ*. Technically ἡ κατόπιν ἀντικειμένη τῇ κόγχῃ κοιλότης (Poll. 2. 189), as ἀγκύλη is the corresponding part of the arm; but here 'knees' in general.

15. δραίνω: this verb occurs only here, 2. 75, Il. 10. 96, and in lexicā; the derivatives ἀδρανής and ὀλιγοδρανής and further derivatives of these are also known. For the formation (from δράω) see Schwyzer i. 694.

μυῖ ὄσον: the fly is typical of boldness (as in Il. 17. 570 μυῖης θάρσος) and of insignificance (as in the proverb ἐλέφαντα ἐκ μυῖας ποιεῖν), but not apparently elsewhere of physical weakness, although it is a natural enough simile. Stob. supports this reading against the marginal variant in P, μῦς ὄσον, which is 'minus aptum' (Crusius).

16. καθέλκει: 'draws down': of scales in Ar. *Ra.* 1398 ἕτερον αὖ ζῆτει τι τῶν βαρυστάθμων ὃ τι σοι καθέλξει, κάρτερόν τε καὶ μέγα; of uncertain reference in Call. *Fr.* 1. 9 καθέλκει [δρῦν Housman, γραῦν Gallavotti] πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπυια Θεσμοφόρος. G. is σὺν γῆραι βαρεῖα (cf. S. *OT* 17). The idea that she is being drawn to death (as in Theoc. 1. 130 εἰς Αἰδὸς ἔλκομαι and other passages) cannot be extracted from the words and has been suggested to commentators by σκιή, see below.

καὶ σκιή: P has χη σκιή, Stob. κῆν σκιή. ἡ σκιή has generally been taken to mean Death: 'but the conception of Death as a shadow—familiar to us [derived probably from Hebrew], I do not know to be elsewhere so expressed in Greek', Headlam, whose learned note, comparing passages where Death is described as black, does not help to make it defensible; nor does Crusius's citation of *Trag. Adesp.* 370 Αἰδὴν δ' ἔχων βοηθὸν οὐ τρέμω σκιάς. The difficulty is removed if, as Lloyd-Jones has suggested to me, we delete the article (I learn from Schneidewin, *Del. poes. Gr.* 233, that Valckenaer had already done so, but he spoiled it by further conjecturing παραστήκω; Stob. represents a text which at least did not have the aspiration): old age stands by her as constantly as her shadow. For the identification see 6. 14 n. Other conjectures are much too violent.

17. There is space for only four normal letters before  $\epsilon$ , and the letter before  $\epsilon$  is more likely to be  $\delta$  than anything else:  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta]$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is possible ( $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta$  τε Bucheler);  $\xi\rho\epsilon\iota]$   $\delta\epsilon$  (Crusius) I do not understand;  $\eta\beta\alpha]$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (Edmonds) seems an unlikely exaggeration. The widely approved  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma]$   $\chi\epsilon$  (Stadtmüller) is too long.

$\mu\grave{\eta}$  τοῦ χρόνου καταψεύδεο: 'do not bring false charges against your age'. For  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  cf. S. OC 112  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega\iota$  παλαιοί. Not 'do not pretend you are so old' (Headlam, whose 'parallels' are not parallel). It is more likely that the corrector in P intended  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\omicron$  (Bücheler and most edd.) than  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon$  (Meister, Puccioni); either is better than the Att.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon$ . (The first correction may be  $\epsilon\omicron$  rather than  $\sigma\omicron$ , cf. 6 n.)

18. The reply shows that  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  must be erotic, as in *Anacreont.* 57. 21-2  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$  λόγιοισι πείθων τότε  $\mu\grave{\eta}$  θέλουσαν  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota$  (Hsch. a 876  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota$ . . . .  $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota$  is a little too strong—unless, as Latte thinks, there is a confusion with  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ). (The idea of Terzaghi, followed by Cataudella and Puccioni, that M. speaks ingenuously, while G. seizes on the *double entente*, is based on the unfounded theory of M.'s virtue; Puccioni's additional point, that  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  erotically could be used only of a man, is also false—either sex can 'hug'—even if there is no ambiguity in Ar. *Lys.* 81 [Lysistrata to Lampito]  $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\nu}$  ταῦρον  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ .) The subject of the lost verb must therefore be G. (and not  $\gamma\grave{\eta}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , as some have thought): Tucker's  $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\eta$   $\tau'$   $\epsilon\tau'$   $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$  (leg.  $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\langle\varsigma\rangle$ ) fits the space and the trace exactly, if written  $\omicron\iota\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$ ; other supplements of the same meaning ( $\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\iota$   $\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  Richards,  $\iota\sigma\chi\acute{o}\nu$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  Bücheler) are too long.

19.  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon$ : the simple verb occurs elsewhere only in late writers who cite it for its etymology (from  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , 'lampoon');  $\delta\iota\alpha$ - and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - are found in literature. Headlam shows at length that in such rejoinders the verb is placed absolutely unless an object is required for contrast or emphasis (e.g. S. *El.* 794  $\tilde{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon$   $\nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  γὰρ  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\upsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$   $\tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , but OT 441  $\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau'$   $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\zeta'$   $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tilde{\mu}'$   $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\nu$ ):  $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$  is therefore subject of the following clause (where it is almost indispensable), not object of  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon$  (as Rutherford, followed by among others Crusius, Groeneboom, and Herzog). Groeneboom's claim that  $\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron$  ( $\tau\acute{o}$   $\sigma\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) would be required is pedantic:  $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$ , 'such things, such remarks', is quite natural, cf. 3. 23 n.

$\tau\eta\varsigma$  νεωτέρης  $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\iota\nu$ : G. classes M. among young(er) women, but M. rejects this classification in 74-5, and this is implicitly accepted by G. in 89-90. It is throughout implied that young women indulge in frivolous affairs, which older, more mature women spurn.  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$  and  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$  are used interchangeably (Schwyzer ii. 183-4).

20.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$  οὐ τοῦτο  $\mu\grave{\eta}$  σε  $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\iota$ : the speaker and the meaning have been much disputed. A certain decision is hampered by the facts that  $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  is used metaphorically of the heat of, *inter alia*, both love

and similar emotions (e.g. Pi. O. 10. 87 φιλότατι, E. El. 402 χαρᾶι) and anger (e.g. Ar. Ra. 844 κότῳ), and that οὐ μή with the aor. subj., though normally expressing denial (as elsewhere in Hds., 1. 43?, 6. 24), occasionally expresses prohibition, equivalent to οὐ μή with the fut. indic. (GMT 301, Gow on Theoc. 1. 152). (1) If G. is the speaker (a) οὐ μή may express a denial, 'this (jesting) will never warm you (you need a man to do that)' (so Herwerden, Nairn, Groeneboom, Leone). Against this it may be said that at this point in the action it would be unintelligible: we have not yet heard of Mandris and his long absence. (b) οὐ μή may express a prohibition, 'do not let this (my rather ill-natured reply) annoy you' (so Terzaghi, Cataudella). (c) Richards conjectured με for σε: 'this (jesting) will not annoy me'. (2) If M. is the speaker (an inconclusive objection to this is the absence of *paragraphos*) (a) οὐ μή may express a denial, 'this (jesting) will not annoy you' (so Hicks, Headlam). This sense however seems to require a more doubtful and questioning type of denial than is usually the case with οὐ μή. (b) οὐ μή may express a prohibition, 'do not let this (jesting) annoy you' (so Crusius, Knox, Herzog). I have produced objections (not, admittedly, conclusive) to (1)(a) and (2)(a), and cannot consider (1)(c) a serious contender; there remain (1)(b) and (2)(b), and I have preferred (2)(b) on the not wholly satisfactory ground that the passage seems to me to read better that way. Doubts remain however, not least because of the rarity of the construction (The minor question of whether or not a comma should be placed after οὐ [with Crusius and Herzog, cf. Schwyzer ii. 317. 8] will be settled when, if ever, the origin(s) of these constructions is determined.)

21. G. comes to the point of her visit.

χρηαίνεις: ἄπ. λεγ.; like χηρεύω a denominative from χῆρος, χήρα. The basic meaning of this group is 'separated', and so here 'be separated from your man': the common development to 'widowed' is a result of the greater frequency of this type of social separation than any other, and need not be implied here, especially in a new formation (if this were the sense here, it would have to be regarded as an exaggeration).

22. τρύχουσα . . . κοίτην: stresses the restless tossing and turning of her lonely (μόνη, μίαν) nights, stronger than μονοκοιτουσα (cf. Ar. Lys. 592, PLit.Lond. 50 i. 22-3). Cf. S. Tr. 109-10 ἐνθυμίους εὐναῖς ἀνανδρώτοισι τρύχεσθαι.

23. Μάνδρις: the name is not otherwise known, but cognates are common.

24. δέκα: round number, as πέντε 10; cf. Ar. Ach. 710.

οὐδὲ γράμμα: not even one letter of the alphabet, far less γράμματα (ἐπιστολή).

25. πέπωκεν ἐκ καινῆς: 'he has drunk from a new (cup)', or

possibly (Lloyd-Jones) 'from a new (fountain)', i.e. he has transferred his love to someone else. For the cup of love cf. Plaut. *Truc.* 43 *si semel amoris poculum accepit meri* . . . , Plu. *Mor.* 505 *ε* *περὶ τὸν καλὸν ἐκείνον ἐβάκχευσε κρατῆρα τοῦ ἔρωτος*. For the fountain metaphor see Thgn. 959-62. Whoever wrote κύλικος in the margin understood the passage correctly; a similar ellipse in 3. 33, and cf. Alex. 111. 1 *παῖ, τὴν μεγάλην δός*, Diph. 17. 8. Meister, objecting to both metaphor and ellipse, took ἐκ καινῆς adverbially, 'anew'; but *πιεῖν* by itself cannot = *φιλεῖν* (in the passages quoted by Meister—Anacr. 44 (389), 62 (407), *AP* 5. 305, 12. 133—there is great help from the context).

Above the *η* of *καινῆς* P has .*η*.: it is too large to be a circumflex, but may be a *λ* though not of the usual shape. Headlam—not Palmer, as has often been said—once interpreted it as *λείπει*, referring to the ellipse; more probably it is to call attention to the marginal note, cf. A. Brinkmann, "*Λάμβδα περιεστιγμένον*", *Rh. Mus.* lix (1904), 159. The

marginal note is probably <sup>λικος</sup> *κυνῆς*, although the *ν* is very uncertain and others have read it as *λ* or *σ*; perhaps *κυνῆς* is a mere misspelling of *καινῆς* (Knox).

26-35. Recital of the good things to be found in Egypt. G. wishes to convince M. that Mandris has settled in Egypt and will not return: hence her list contains all the advantages of that country—some of them, it is true, could be found anywhere, but those peculiar to Egypt are sufficient to persuade any man, once in Egypt, not to go elsewhere for these.

26. *κεῖ*: this form, conjectured also in 4. 57, and found in Archil. 314 and, in the Aeol. form *κῆ*, in Sapph. 141. 1, stands to *ἐκεῖ* as *κείνος*, *κεῖσε*, *κεῖθι*, and *κεῖθεν* to *ἐκ*-; cf. Schwyzler i. 613 (c).

*οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ*: in G.'s mouth 'the goddess' must be Aphrodite, as in 62. The following *τὰ γὰρ πάντα κτλ.* makes it clear that the sense is 'Aphrodite, the goddess of pleasure, has her dwelling there, i.e. all pleasure may be found there' (not, as Rutherford, a reference to a particular temple of Aphrodite); cf. Nonn. *D.* 47. 409 *εἰς ἑρατὴν σέο γαῖαν, ὅππῃ δόμος ἐστὶν Ἑρώτων*, and many other passages cited by Headlam.

27. *ὅσσ' ἐστί*: 'all that is (naturally)'; *καὶ γίνετ'*: 'and is made'.

28. P. Maas and others wish to delete this line as irrelevant, but see on 26-35 and *CR* N.S. xv (1965), 7.

*πλοῦτος*: the wealth of Egypt was famous from Hom. (*Od.* 3. 301, 14. 285) on.

*δύναμις*: apparently political and military power: Egypt, the centre of the Ptolemaic empire, is where things happen, where issues are decided, and is therefore an exciting and interesting place in which to live.

εὐδία: probably metaphorical, 'tranquillity' (as in *OGI* 90. 11 τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς εὐδίαν ἀγαγεῖν)—a consequence of δύναμις. Others (Headlam, Herzog, Puccioni) think the literal sense of 'good climate' is also intended, but such preoccupation with the weather is more characteristic of Northern Europe than of the Eastern Mediterranean.

29. θέαι: 'sights, spectacles' (accented by P to avoid confusion with θεαί). Cf. Theoc. 15, Kallixenos *apud* Ath. 196 a sqq.

φιλόσοφοι: probably 'philosophers' in the modern sense, though the technical 'academician' (Pfeiffer on Call. *Dieg.* vi. 3, vol. i, p. 163) is possible. In *Dieg.* l.c. φιλοσόφους is corrected to φιλολόγους, and so B. Marzullo (*Maia* vi [1953], 64) would read here: but this word was first used in the technical meaning by Eratosthenes (Suet. *Gramm.* 10. 4 *Eratosthenes qui primus hoc cognomen sibi uindicauit*), therefore in the second half of the third century.

νεηνίσκοι: simply 'young men', who would be companions for Mandris. There is no need to see a reference to the παῖδες βασιλαιοί, junior officers and pages of the Ptolemies (Meister and Headlam), or to take it in a homosexual sense (Maas).

30. θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος: the shrine of the gods Ptolemy II Philadelphos and his sister and second wife Arsinoe; they were deified as the θεοὶ ἀδελφοί, and their τέμενος was therefore in existence, by 272/1 B.C. (*PHib.* 199). For deification of the living in Greek culture see M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.* ii. 128 sqq. θεῶν ἀδελφῶν is an attribute to distinguish this τέμενος from all others, and does not necessitate understanding βασιλεύς of a different king.

-ῶν τῆμένος ὁ βαῖ-: two resolutions also in 7. 57, 60, 61 (in a similar list); the sequence -υυ υυυ occurs in comedy (J. W. White, *Verse of Gr. Com.*, 49, 62); ὁ βασιλεύς is metrically one word (Maas, *Gr. Metre*, § 135), so that the tribrach is divided normally after the first syllable.

χρηστός: predicative, 'the King is good'. Those who find this too awkward are reduced to one of two expedients: either the whole phrase is claimed to be 'an indivisible compound expression' (Richards, Nairn), or the adj. is taken as attributive despite its position (Groeneboom). The former is highly improbable, the latter solecistic (the claimed parallels are corrupt, see Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 663; in view of Jebb on S. *Aj.* 573, cited by Groeneboom, it should be said that cases where one attribute is placed between article and noun and a second outside are normal, see *KG* i. 622e).

The reasons adduced by Maas and Marzullo for deleting 30 and 31 have been implicitly refuted above; see also *CR* n.s. xv (1965), 7.

31. Μουσῆιον: the Museum of Alexandria, the university whose many famous scholars made the city the centre of learning in the Hellenistic period, was founded about 280 B.C., i.e. a decade before

Hds. wrote. This is the earliest reference to it. Cf. Pfeiffer, *Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, esp. 96 sqq.

οἶνος: Ath. 33 εἴ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἄμπελος πλείστη μὲν αὐτή, ὅσος καὶ ὁ ποταμός.

χρήζην: sc. Mandris. So Rutherford, Crusius, but most edd. adopt Bücheler's *χρήζη(ς)*, perhaps rightly, as the general 2nd pers. seems rather more suitable; but it must be recognized that it is a correction, not a supplement.

32. τὴν Ἄιδεω Κούρην: Persephone, wife of Hades. *Κούρη* (originally 'daughter of Demeter') is treated as a proper name, so that it can be used in the same construction as 6. 25 ἡ Βιτᾶδος Εὐβούλη. Terzaghi and Puccioni claim that it is unnecessary to regard *κούρην* as a proper name, but their citations (Il. 6. 247, Od. 18. 279) merely show that a *κόρη* is not necessarily a virgin, not that with a name added in the genit. it can mean anything except 'daughter'. Headlam at one time took τὴν Ἄιδεω *κούρην* to be Hekate, but this seems needlessly obscure. If conjecture were required (which I do not believe), Meister's τὴν Δεωκούρην ('daughter of Δεώ': Δεώ Ion. for Δηώ = Δημήτηρ) is ingenious (it is *not* the reading of P, as Meister claimed).

Ἄιδεω: Att. form of the stem Ἄιδ- (contrast 3. 17) with Ion. ending.

33. An obvious comparison, as Ov. AA 1. 59 *quot caelum stellae, tot habet tua Roma puellas*. Stars, like grains of sand (Ellis on Catull. 7. 3) and waves (Gow on Theoc. 16. 60), are proverbially countless.

34. τὴν δ' ὄψιν: 'in appearance', referring to the face, whereas εἶδος refers to the whole body. Headlam notes that this distinction is almost exclusively Attic, other dialects using εἶδος in both senses (the exceptions, Pi. N. 10. 15 ὄψιν ἐειδόμενος, Hdt. 7. 61. 1 ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, he explains as being necessitated by the close proximity of εἶδ- in other forms). This merely proves that Hds. did not have a complete grasp of Ion. idiom; there is no need to assume that he really meant εἶδος (Headlam) or to read τὸ δ' εἶδος with the corrector of P (Knox; it is probably a gloss, εἶδος being again universal in later Greek).

The goddesses coming to be judged by Paris are the regular type of beauty in Hellenistic and later literature. Cf. in general T. C. W. Swinton, *Eur. and the Judgement of Paris* (Suppl. Paper of the Soc. for the Prom. of Hell. Stud., no. 11, 1965).

35. Bücheler's *θεαὶ κριθῆναι* is probable; *κρίσις* and *καλλονή* (a somewhat rare word) occur with reference to the same occasion in E. IA 1308.

λάβοιμι αὐτάς: she hopes the goddesses have not noticed the comparison, which might be offensive to them. Cf. 6. 35. This of course does not mean that G. is 'devout' (Laloy), merely that she shares common superstition.

36. λάβοιμι does not require a part., as 6. 35 λάβοιμι δ', Ἀδρήστεια

shows; but it is difficult to imagine what else could have stood in the gap. I do not find a part. at the beginning of three successive lines (36-8) as inelegant as Spiro and Groeneboom do. Granted that a part. is to be found, one would expect it to be the 'coincident' aor. (GMT 144): γρύξασα (Headlam, cf. 3. 37 n.) fills the space better than εἰποῦσα (Blass and many edd.) or λέξασα (Meister).

οὖν: in view of my proof that Mandris is gone for good.

τάλαινα: probably voc., as 6. 3. To take as predicative nomin. overloads the sentence.

36-7. κοῖν . . . ψυχὴν [ἔχουσ]α: cf. E. Or. 526 τίν' εἶχες, ὦ τάλας, ψυχὴν τότε; and many other passages quoted by Headlam (also with γνώμη, θυμός, καρδιά, νοῦς, φροντίς, διάνοια), mostly with the simple interrogative, but the more emotive ποῖος also in Babr. 95. 101 ποῖην δ' ἔμελλε καρδίην ἔχειν; and Joan. Chrys. Homil. 24. 3 ποῖαν εἰκὸς ἔχειν ψυχὴν τὸν δίκαιον τοῦτον . . .;

37. θάλπεις: cf. 76, 7. 40. M. is like a lazy bird keeping her nest warm (cf. 7. 48), instead of taking action, as a young woman should.

κατοῦν P. (1) If the original reading is adopted, it may be interpreted as (a) κατ' οὐ . . .; (doubtfully approved by Crusius and Groeneboom), or (b) κἀτ' οὐ . . .; (Richards), or (c) κατ' οὐ, sc. δῖφρου (Ludwich); (2) if the correction is adopted, it may be interpreted as (a) κἀτ' οὖν (Ellis, Pieraccioni), or (b) κατ' οὖν (Headlam). (1) (a): for a negat. following a prep. in *tnesi* cf. 4. 93. However a simple question seems inferior in the context to the more emphatic statement. (1) (b): εἴτα (not otherwise used by Hds.) gives the question the necessary bite; the insertion of ι is a negligible alteration. (1) (c) is a desperate expedient, awkwardly turning the metaphorical into the actual. (2) (a) is unlikely: εἴτα and οὖν are not both required. (2) (b) is the vulgate. With it, as with (1) (a), a difficulty arises with regard to κατά. It can hardly be taken with λήσεις, as καταλανθάνω does not exist (καταλήθομαι = 'forget' Il. 22. 389), and the attempt to invent it for this passage (Groeneboom, Puccioni) is not convincing: in the 'parallels', κατα-δοκέειν, -εικάζειν, -φρονέειν, the sense 'to one's disadvantage' arises easily from the physical 'down', as in Engl. 'look down on', which could not be said of καταλανθάνω. It must therefore be taken with the part. lost in 38, and the position of λήσεις between the two is then very unusual. Headlam compares *orac. apud* Hdt. 4. 159. 3 μετὰ οἷ ποκά φامي μελήσειν and A.R. 4. 1272 ἀπ' ἐλπίδα φημὶ κεκόφθαι, which seem easier because of the enclitic nature of φημί; however λανθάνω is almost an auxiliary verb and has therefore no great emphasis (Wilamowitz on E. Her. 53 took S. Aj. 675 ἐν δ' ὁ παγκρατὴς ὕπνος λύει πεδήσας as an example of this order; but ἐμπεδάω does not exist, and Jebb must be correct in regarding ἐν as adverbial). I accept



(2) (b) as the most likely interpretation, with (1) (b) a close runner-up. On tmesis in Hds. see on 3. 5.

38. If *κατά* is accepted in 37 and if it is not taken with *λήσεις*, it is hard to avoid *γηράσα*] (Rutherford, Blass) here: this part. (probably aor., cf. Schwyzer i. 682) is found in Il. 17. 197 and Hes. *Op.* 188. But if these conditions are not fulfilled, the possibilities are more numerous: another part., or a noun (*τὴν Κῆρα*] Meister; Groeneboom's *Πλούτωνα*] is too long).

*τὸ ὄριον*: neut. adj. = abstract noun (cf. also 67 n.), mainly a prose idiom (*KG* i. 267 γ). *ὄριος* is found in poetry of all periods and in late prose, *ὄριμος* very largely in late prose (*ώραῖος* is the common word at all times): there can therefore be no doubt about the correct reading.

*τέφρη κάψει*: the ashes of decay will gulp down her youthful beauty. This metaphor also in Call. *Ap.* 83-4 *ἀεὶ δέ τοι ἀέναον πῦρ, οὐδέ ποτε χθιζὸν περιβόσκειται ἀνθρακα τέφρη* (whence presumably Euenos *AP* 9. 62 *Ἰλιον . . . αἰῶνος τέφρη κατεδήδοκεν*), but Headlam is wrong in thinking that Hds. must derive it from Call.: either could be derivative, or both independent.

39. *ἵνον* has suggested to some various compounds of *κλίνω*, but these do not go well with *ἄλλην*, as she is not at the moment leaning in any direction. Better is Weil's *πάπτῃνον*; the verb is frequently combined with an expression denoting the direction of the glance (as *πάντῃ . . . παπταίνετον* Il. 23. 463-4), and is used in a similar context by Diod. Tars. *AP* 7. 700 *ἐς γάμον ἄλλης παπταίνων*.

40. *νοῦν*: 'purpose', as in *ἐν νῶϊ ἔχειν*.

*δύ' ἢ τρεῖς*: Anan. 2. 2 *δύ' ἢ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους*, etc.; cf. L. Radermacher, *Philol.* lxi (1904), 1 sqq.

*ἱλαρή*: 'cheerful', with a hint of 'suggestive, alluring', as in Mel. *AP* 12. 159 *ἦν δ' ἱλαρὸν βλέψῃς ἥδὺ τέθληεν ἔαρ*.

*κατάστηθι*: 'become' simply, cf. S. *Aj.* 306 *ἔμφρων . . . καθίσταται* (not 'compose yourself', as Headlam: she is not distressed).

41. The traces in P before *ἄλλον* are very faint and difficult to distinguish from marks on the papyrus. Blass and Groeneboom read *..πῃς*: perhaps rather *λ.τ* than *..π*, and the *ρ* seems to be only a mark; but certainly *ις* rather than *ος*. If this is so, supplements with *πρός* (*φίλον πρὸς* Bücheler, *Μάνδριν πρὸς* van Leeuwen, *ἱλαρὸν πρὸς* Crusius, and so on) are ruled out.

41-2. *νηὺς μῆς ἐπ' ἀγκύρης [οὐκ] ἀσφαλῆς ὀρμεῦσα*: but needs two (Pi. *O.* 6. 100 sq. *ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πέλοντ' ἐν χειμερίαι νυκτὶ θοᾶς ἐκ ναὸς ἀπεσκήμφθαι δύ' ἄγκυραι*); the idea is applied also to politics (Plu. *Sol.* 19. 2 *οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὀρμοῦσαν ἦττον ἐν σάλωι τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι*, where Ziegler notes the iambic rhythm) and to parents with only one child (Call. *Fr.* 91); erotic also in Prop. 2. 22. 41.

42-3. This must still be spoken by G. The attribution to M. (Rutherford, Blass), with *κεῖνος* = Mandris and G. replying 'he is dead, no one will raise him up again', founders on the twin obstacles of the absence of *δέ* in *κεῖνος ἦν ἔλθῃ*, and of the fact that G. does *not* believe Mandris to be dead. G. is therefore continuing her sententious list of reasons for M. to have another man. 43 suggests strongly that *κεῖνος* = death, either by itself, or more probably supported by an adj. or other phrase in 43 (*ὁ πορφύρεος* Crusius, comparing Ammian. *AP* 11. 13 *ἐξαίφνης ἦξει ὁ πορφύρεος*; *ἐκ νεπτέρων* Headlam). In addition as *μηδὲ εἰς αἰ.*, 'let no one raise', is unlikely, *οὐ* or a compound thereof must be fitted into the gap to give a negat. statement with *οὐ μή* (20 n.; either—or both—negatives in this construction may be compound, see the exx. in *KG* ii. 221-2). The traces in P before *μηδὲ* are too faint and doubt-

ful to allow definite interpretation (Edmonds read *τεθν[η]ξο[μεν]* <sup>κ</sup> *οὐ*; the end is possible, but the rest is highly problematical). In general cf. *A. Eu.* 648 (once a man is dead) *οὐτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις*.

*μηδὲ εἰς*: hiatus as in 45, 48, 73, Hippon. 64 (verse of uncertain authorship), Epich., comedy (especially the *νέα*), and occasionally elsewhere.

44. *ἡμέας* seems secure, but what follows is most uncertain: [*γυν*]*αί* Nairn, *φίλη* H. I. Bell (*apud* Knox), [*π*]*άλ[ιν]* Herzog (I can see only *λ*). However all these necessitate *τοδινα* being taken together, and *τὸ δεῖνα* gives no reasonable sense, either as 'the what-do-you-call-it' or as 'by the way'. It might then be better to regard *το* as the end of a word, and start off the next sentence with *δευνά* (so Ludwig and Knox *olim*; Knox's later *φιλεῖ τόδ' εἶν'*· *ὁ δ'* is the product of desperation): but it is difficult to find a suitable supplement (*ἐς αὐτό* Ludwig, which he does not translate, and which I do not understand; *ἀπαρτ[ί]* Knox, but 'henceforth' is not suitable here). The possibility of corruption cannot be ruled out.

*ἄγριος χειμών*: as Anacr. 17 (362) *ἄγριοι χειμῶνες*, *E. Andr.* 748, etc.

45. Whether the fierce storm arises from a calm (*ἐ[ξ] ἐ[ὐ]δίας ἐνέπ[ε]σε* Crusius, Groeneboom, and others), or scatters everything (*[διασκεδᾶι καὶ τὰλ]λα* Barigazzi), or blows down leaves (*κατ' οὖν ἐρείπει φύλ]λα* and *σε[ίει χαμαὶ τὰ φύλ]λα* Knox), or whatever, is quite uncertain.

46. *τὸ μέλλον* is fairly certain: *Men. Mon.* 608 *οὐδεὶς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλῶς βουλευεται* etc.

*ἄστατος*: not stationary, unstable, variable; of *βίος* Hld. 4. 9, *App. Anth.* ii. 473, of *αἰών* ib. 498, of *τύχη* *Trag. Adesp.* 179, of *ὄλβος* Phoc. 27. One of these words or some similar one will have followed in 47.

*ἡμέων*: with *οὐδὲ εἰς*.

*ἀνθρώπους*: the most plausible explanation of P's reading is that he

first wrote *ἡμῶν* as an echo from the first half of the verse (cf. 76-7, J. Jackson, *Marg. Scaen.* 105-7, 223-7, Fraenkel, *A. Ag.* iii. 655 n. 1); he, or a later corrector, saw the error, and in correcting it made a similar error *ανθρωπων*: this was finally corrected to *ανθρωποις*. If this reasoning is rejected, one is obliged with Crusius to correct *ἡμῶν* to *ἡμεῶν* (a form found in *Od.* 24. 170; *ὑμεῶν* also in *Hom.*); while one could not deny that Hds. was capable of using two different forms of a word in one line, it is inadmissible to compare (Puccioni) 5. 85, 7. 115, where the variation has a stylistic purpose, and Nairn's idea that *ἡμεῶν* = 'of us women', while *ἡμεῶν* = 'of us mortals' is fanciful; *ανθρωποις* is then inexplicable (if it were a gloss, as Puccioni thinks, why is it in the dat.?).

47-8. ἀλλὰ . . . ἡμιν: a motif common in New Comedy, to judge from *Plaut. Mil.* 955, *Most.* 472, *Stich.* 102, *Trin.* 146.

μήτις: μή, not οὐ, because a negat. reply is expected.

σύνεγγυς: a prosaic word.

ἡμιν: the genit. is more common after adjectives and adverbs meaning 'near', but the dat. (as with the equivalent verbs) is not unknown: *E. Heracl.* 37 τοῖσδ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας; and *σύνεγγυς* is more common with the dat. than with the genit. in *Plb.* and later historians (*F. Krebs, Präp. Adv. bei P.* [Schanz's *Beiträge* i, 1882], 9). Possibly *συν-* may have had some influence.

49. G. finally comes to the point.

50. Ματαλίνης: both this and *Ματακίνης* are possible; cf. *Ματάκας, Μάταλα*, etc., and for the suffix *Μυρταλ-ίνη* in 6. 50.

τῆς Πατακίου: 'daughter of Pataikion'. Woman speaking to woman gives the mother's name rather than the father's as being better known to them (so 6. 50). There is no evidence for matriarchy here (Meister), nor should the doubtful formation *Παταίκιος* (Headlam) be introduced.

Γρύλλος: P at first wrote *Γύλλος*, thinking on *Γυλλίς*. Cf. 10. 2.

Headlam notes that *Πατακίων* (cf. 4. 63 n.) and *Γρυλλίων* are known as parasites, and thinks Hds.' conjunction of the related names is disparaging: possible but not necessary. Both *Παταίκιον* and *Γρύλλος* are known names.

51. νικέων: the pres. normal in *νικῶ, ἡττῶμαι, ἀδικῶ*, etc., describing the present effect of past action.

ἐν Πυθοῖ: at Delphi, in the Pythian Games.

52. ἐν Κορίνθῳ: in the Isthmian Games.

τοὺς ἱουλον ἀνθεῦντας: adolescents, as we more prosaically say. *Od.* 11. 319 πρὶν σφῶν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἱούλους ἀνθῆσαι, *APL.* 381 ἱουλον ἀνθῶν πρῶτον.

53. A finite verb takes up the participial construction, one of the commonest types of anacoluthon: *KG* ii. 100.

Πίσῃ: the district round Olympia. The most important athletic

festival, the Olympic Games, comes last as the climax. Variation between preposition and locative in place-names is not uncommon.

καθεῖλε: 'brought down', 'defeated', as Theoc. 22. 115 (of a boxing match); more frequently in the stronger sense 'kill'.

54. τὸ καλόν: internal accus., as Theoc. 3. 3, 18, Call. *Epigr.* 52. 1, *AP* 7. 219. 1; 'in a fine way' is a more colourful expression than 'truly' (cf. Pearson on *S. Fr.* 934); 'nicely' may be used similarly.

54-5. οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς κινέων: 'not moving even a straw from the ground', see 3. 67 n. Gryllos, despite all his athletic achievements, is a quiet, retiring fellow.

55. ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς: 'and an untouched seal as far as love is concerned'; athletes in training were normally sexually abstemious (Th. Hopner, *RE* Suppl. vii. 62-3), sometimes assisted by mechanical means (cf. Lloyd-Jones, Loeb ed. of *A.*, ii. 544). Edd. make unnecessarily heavy weather over this: 'an untouched seal' is one which has not been used, which is therefore not smeared with wax, but clean and pure; ἐς Κυθηρίην gives the field of activity in which Gryllos is pure (cf. 4. 73, Hdt. 1. 99. 2 οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίαν λειπόμενοι); ἄθικτος is specially suitable as being not uncommonly used of virginity (Ion Trag. 11 ἀθικτους κόρας). σφρηγίς must be the ring which makes the impression, not the impression itself (a female virgin may be compared to an unbroken seal, as in Nonn. *D.* 2. 305 λυσαμένη δ' ἄψαυστον ἐῆς σφρηγίδα κορείης, but hardly a male one). To punctuate after Κυθηρίην and understand σφρηγίς of a seal of secrecy (several edd. following Wright) imports an alien idea into the passage. Bücheler's [ναί] *K.* is too long for the space.

Κυθηρίη: this form of the common epithet of Aphrodite occurs also in Archipp. 18; it is probably derived from the normal Κυθερ- to assist the *Volksetymologie* from Κύθηρα (Hes. *Th.* 198, etc.).

56. Festivals were among the few occasions when a respectable Greek woman (and most of Herodas' women at least wish to be thought respectable) could be seen in public; hence in romantic literature encounters between men and women frequently take place there (Headlam on this passage, Gow on Theoc. 2. 66).

καθόδωι: 'descent', i.e. procession representing a descent (into Hades), as the second day of the Thesmophoria was called κάθοδος, sc. τῆς Κόρης (Phot. s.v. Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραι). The dat. as in Θεσμοφορίοις (Lys. 1. 20), Παναθηναίοις (Ar. *Nu.* 988), etc.

τῆς Μίσης: *Mise*, perhaps originally a Phrygian deity, was introduced into the Eleusinian myth of Demeter and Kore as the hostess who persuaded Demeter to break her fast of mourning for Kore (a role usually filled by Baubo). See A. Dietrich, *Philol.* lii (1893), 1 sqq., L. Bloch, *ib.* 577 sqq. This is the earliest mention of her.

ἐκύμηνε: 'swelled, seethed', with desire, as Ael. *NA.* 7. 15 κυμαίνουσα ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; with wonder 6. 68.

57. τὰ σπλάγχνα: as the seat of love first here and in the roughly contemporary Theoc. 7. 99 παιδὸς ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοις ἔχει πόθον, then Mosch. 1. 17 (of Eros) ἐπὶ σπλάγχνοις δὲ κάθηται etc.; earlier of anger (as Ar. *Ra.* 844 μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν σπλάγχνα θερμῆς κότῳ, probably a parody of A.) and sorrow (3. 42 n.).

ἔρωτι: with ἀνοιστρηθείς, cf. E. *Med.* 8 ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσα, *Hipp.* 278 καρδίαν κατέσχετο ἔρωτι. Groeneboom takes with ἐκύμηνε, which is much less natural (he quotes Pi. *Fr.* 123. 4 ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, but the pass. makes that passage different, 'is tossed by').

ἀνοιστρηθείς: this compound also in E. *Ba.* 979 (of the madness induced by the Λύσσης κύνες) and Nonn. *D.* 45. 47 (of a Maenad). οἰστρος, properly a stinging insect, οἰστρῶ, and compounds are used of anything that stings one to frenzy, frequently of love, as Men. *Fr.* 258. 3 οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ (of Sappho's love for Phaon).

58. οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἐπ' ἡμέρην: 'neither at night nor all through the day'; ἐπὶ with accus. as in A.R. 4. 1163-4 ἐπερρώοντ' ἐλάτῃσιν παννύχιοι καὶ ἐπ' ἡμαρ, Theoc. 11. 69 ἡμαρ ἐπ' ἡμαρ (see Gow). Headlam's objection to the accus. with a negat. seems arbitrary; if it was serious, one might argue that οὐ λείπει is equivalent to 'he remains at'; his ἡμέρηι or ἡμέρης is much duller.

Lovers normally waited at the door of the loved one (Call. *Epigr.* 63, Theoc. 7. 122, etc.), but Gryllos is apparently too shy for this, and θυραυλεῖ at one stage removed.

59. μευ κατακλαίει = κατὰ μευ κλαίει, 'wails over, before me', *KG* i. 403 A. 9. The only other author to use such a construction with this verb is Epict., in whom the sense is 'wail against': Arr. *Epict.* 2. 17. 26 μίαν ἡμέραν οὐ διαλείπεις ἐν ᾗ οὐ κατακλαίεις καὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν, 3. 24. 7 μέλλεις ἡμῶν κατακλαίειν ὅτι τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐ μέλλεις βλέπειν, 1. 23. 4, 3. 13. 4 (Headlam cites also Plu. *Art.* 2. 2 τῆς μητρὸς ἰκέτης γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ κατακλαύσας μόλις ἔπεισε, where μητρὸς clearly belongs to ἰκέτης alone).

60. ταταλίζει: the verb is found only here and in 6. 77. The meaning is clear: 'call someone \*τάταλε', as πατερίζω is 'call someone πάτερ'. The inferred \*τάταλος is connected with τατί (5. 69 n.); that ancient grammarians talked of πρόσθεσις τῆς αἰ συλλαβῆς in such cases does not justify us in leaving out the intermediate stage, even when the word is not extant.

ποθέων ἀποθνήσκει: Archil. 266 δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθῳ ἄψυχος. The same hyperbole is used of other emotions: Ar. *Ach.* 15 ἀπέθανον καὶ διεστράφην ἰδὼν, ὅτε δὴ παρέκυψε Χαῖρις ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρθιον, D. 4. 45 τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει. ἐκθνήσκω is not parallel (see *LSJ*), nor is the fut. of ἀποκτείνω (see Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 1064) or ἀπόλλυμι.

61. τέκνον μοι: 'my child'. μοι, like the 'dat.' of the other personal pronouns, was originally also genit., and this use survives sporadically in Greek, especially with vocatives; see Schwyzer ii. 189.

ταύτην: Meister, observing that οὗτος is elsewhere in Hds. used with the article, wrongly concluded that this was necessary here (he read Μητρί, τήν for Μητρίχην). The correct conclusion is that the sense is different here: not 'this one indiscretion', but 'one indiscretion—this'; ταύτην is predicative and no article is required.

62. ἀμαρτίην: G. admits that she is persuading M. to do wrong, but she would doubtless agree with the nurse in E. *Hipp.* 615 that ἀμαρτεῖν εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπους. And Aphrodite has to be honoured, even if other gods will look less favourably on the action. Cf. also Odysseus in S. *Ph.* 83–5 νῦν δ' εἰς ἀναιδὲς ἡμέρας μέρος βραχὺ δὸς μοι σεαυτὸν, κᾶϊτα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον κέκλησο πάντων εὐσεβέστατος βροτῶν.

δός: as an offering.

τῇ θεῷ: 26 n. This must go with δός, which is incomplete without it.

κατάρτησον: probably Groeneboom is correct in understanding 'dedicate yourself', the metaphor being from hanging dedications in a temple (καταρτᾶν so used Plu. *Rom.* 16. 4, *Marc.* 8. 2 κατήρτησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ τροπαίου] τὰ λάφυρα); it is unnecessary to think of any additional qualification, but if such were required, it would be ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ, as in Plu. *Marc.* l.c., and not τῇ θεῷ. The objection to taking κατάρτησον = κατάρτυσον or reading κατάρτυσον, 'discipline yourself' (Headlam), is that this would naturally mean the exact opposite of what is needed; it is, I think, possible but unlikely that G. is being unintentionally inappropriate, the point lying in the irony (so Lloyd-Jones).

63. τὸ γῆρας μὴ λάθῃ σε προσβλέψαν: old age will see her unexpectedly if she behaves as an old woman, i.e. rejects Aphrodite, although she is still young; a common argument at all times by those who wish to persuade reluctant women. There is no need to picture M. looking at wrinkles in a mirror (Groeneboom) or to introduce a popular belief that Aphrodite could avert old age (Crusius). For the personification cf. 2. 71 n.

64. δοιά: an old word, used by Hom. and Hes., and taken up by later poets (Call., A.R., etc.). Originally collective, 'double' (cf. Od. 10. 84 δαιοὺς ἐξήρατο μισθοὺς; Frisk s.v.), it became, even in Hom., a metrically convenient equivalent of δύο. The collective sense would be appropriate here, but that is presumably coincidence.

πρήξεις: 'achieve, accomplish, gain'. Not 'exact', which would require the middle, nor 'fare' with δοιά adverbial, which would require more exact specification.

What the first of the gains is is uncertain: ἡδέων τεύξει (Headlam) gives better sense and fits the very faint traces better than ἡδέως

ζήσεις (F. D. and many edd.). The second last word is almost inevitably καί; the last more likely to be σοι (F. D.) than πρὸς (Crusius), see 5. 69 n. and for an enclitic at the beginning of a clause cf. 38.

65. δοθήσεται: by whom? Probably Gryllos, who will show himself appreciative and generous. Aphrodite, grateful for the offering, seems less likely.

μέζον ἢ δοκεῖς: cf. Antiph. 7 πρᾶγμα μεῖζον ἢ δοκεῖς.

66. πείσθητί μου: πείθομαι, being roughly synonymous with (ὑπ)ακούειν, which takes a genit. as a verb of hearing, occasionally is followed by a genit. instead of a dat.: Hdt. 1. 126. 5-6, 5. 29. 2, 33. 4, 6. 12. 3 (in 1. 59. 3 the genit. may be absolute), E. *IA* 726, Th. 7. 73. 2 (in Heraclit. 33 νόμος καὶ βουλῇ πείθεσθαι ἐνός, βουλή is a false *v.l.*); probably an Ion. use. (Similarly πειθαρχεῖν takes the genit. in *GDI* 5581, 5736.) In the earlier exx. the middle form is used, as one would expect; the passive occurs again in D.C. 38. 43. 3 ἐμοῦ τῆς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπείσθη and other later writers; the aor. in -θην was not originally passive, was never exclusively so, and became progressively less so (Wackernagel i. 139).

φιλέω σε: therefore my advice is for your true welfare. Charito 2. 10. 2 ἐγὼ δέ σε φιλοῦσα συμβουλεύω τάληθῃ.

ναὶ μὰ τὰς Μοίρας: 11 n.

67. Γυλλί τα λευκ: choriamb in the first metron; this might easily be avoided here by reading Γυλλί(ς) (Rutherford, Bücheler), with nomin. for voc. as 9, 11, but see Appendix III. 7.

τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν: differs from αἱ λευκαὶ τρίχες in that it stresses the abstract quality, 'the whiteness of your hair'; from αἱ λευκαὶ τῶν τριχῶν in that the latter construction is virtually confined to prose (*KG* i. 279). Cf. 3. 51-2 n.

68. κατάπλωσιν: ἄπ. λεγ., from the Ion. -πλώω (2. 59 n.). καταπλεῖν, literally 'sail to land', sometimes means 'sail home' (as Lys. 21. 3 of a man who has been serving as *τριηραρχός*); and so here the noun means 'return home by sea'. The idea that the reference is to Mandris' reaching Egypt is ill conceived: M. is demonstrating her conviction that the basis of G.'s argument, that Mandris has deserted her, is false.

69. φίλην Δήμητρα: mentioned as a goddess most dear to women, not in reference to any particular function. Cf. 86.

ἐξ: instead of the genit. alone (one step in the universalization of prepositions), as Od. 15. 374 ἐκ δ' ἄρα δεσποίνης οὐ μέλιχον ἔστιν ἀκούσαι . . ., Hdt. 3. 62. 2 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος (Hude wrongly omits ἐκ with the here clearly interpolated *d* group); ἀπό, παρά, and πρὸς are similarly used (*KG* i. 360).

70. ἡδέως: in strict logic the antithesis must be supplied that she listened 'gladly' or 'cheerfully' to G., which is obviously not the case. But the slight illogicality is quite natural. It is certainly unnecessary

to give ἡδέως the unusual, if not unique, sense 'calmly', 'patiently' (Terzaghi) or to substitute ἡπίως (Stadtmüller).

71. 'I would have taught her to sing her lame song with a limp', i.e. anyone who told such an unconvincing story would have received a beating. χωλήν, as Headlam remarks, is used instead of κλαίουσαν *uel sim.* for the sake of the play with ἀείδειν χολά; this is destroyed by reading χολῇ (Blümner, Stadtmüller) or χολῆς (Crusius *olim*).

χωλὸν<sup>α</sup> P: χωλόν is kept by Crusius and Puccioni, ἄν being understood from the previous line (*KG* i. 248-9); but the plur. is more natural and avoids any ambiguity.

ἀείδειν χῶλ': probably equivalent to the Engl. 'tell a lame story'. This is an easier step from the literal sense than 'disingenuous' or 'vicious'.

73-5. 'But see that *you* do not come to me again, my dear, with such a tale, but tell your young ones a tale which befits old women.'

ἔς με: Hds., like Hom., uses ἐ(ί)ς of people (4. 44, probably 3. 78), where most writers would use ὡς, πρὸς, or παρά (cf. *LSJ* s.v. εἰς with Supplement). It is therefore unnecessary to read ἔς μεν 'to my house' with Bücheler, Headlam, and Knox.

P undoubtedly has οἷδε in 74, and not οἷμε (which would need correction: ὅς μὲν Headlam, ὅς γε Hicks, Richards, Herwerden): therefore μῦθον is last word of the preceding clause (in which it is almost essential to explain τοῖον), and ἔν<α> is necessary in 73 (Blass). Attempts to avoid this conclusion by taking μηδὲ ἔν as an adv. or by including δέ in a relative clause condemn themselves.

γρήησι: unique form of γράϊα, though γρήϊος is found in Call. *Fr.* 490, Nic. *Fr.* 62, and possibly in Euph. (Page, *GLP* 121 (b) 21). The tale 'which befits old women' is not, I think, 'an old wives' tale, γράων ὕθλος' (Headlam), nor a 'discorso ispirato a saggio consiglio e a prudenza' (Cataudella), but the kind of improper suggestions which G. has been making and which she should keep for those who are νέαι in her sense of the word (see 19 n.).

76. M. is quite happy to do what G. thought was wasting her youth (21-2, 36-7).

Πυθέω: genit. of Πυθέης (Hdt. 8. 92. 1), as Hdt. 7. 137. 3, 181. 1, 9. 78. 1. For the loss of one ε in the sequence -εεω see Schwyzler i. 252 (3). M. gives herself her full title: she is standing on her dignity a little. (It is hardly relevant that the father of Hippon. was called Πύθης.)

77. τὸν δίφρον: P at first repeated Μητρίχην, cf. 46 n.

ἐνγελᾷ: pres., not fut. (the fut. of γελᾶω is act. first in Mel., and a contracted fut. of this verb is not attested; δικάω from δικάζω in Hdt. 1. 97. 1, cited by Headlam, is a different type). The general statement



implies a warning: 'no one laughs against Mandris—and if anyone should, he would regret it'.

εἰς: 'against' (not 'about', as Headlam), as in *S. Aj.* 79 οὐκ οὐκ γέλωτος ἡδιστος εἰς ἐχθροὺς γελᾶν;

78. M. changes the conversation to a more congenial topic: 'let's have a drink'.

Χι

οὐδε P: if οὐδέ is kept, it cannot be taken with Γυλλίς (Nairn) or with λόγων (Crusius), but must go with τούτων as an emphatic negat., 'not at all': such a use is however doubtful, and the passages of Hdt. quoted by Denniston 197-8, even if his interpretation is correct, are not exactly similar. The interpretation of Ludwich ἄλλου δὲ τούτων, 'other than these', is ingenious, but, as Groeneboom says, ἀλλά is required in such an emphatic transition (in none of the passages quoted by Denniston 167 is δέ as strong as it would have to be here). οὐχί is therefore to be accepted.

φασί: refers probably to G.'s well-known propensity to drink; less probably, I think, to the 'cant expression' (Lloyd-Jones, comparing *E. Hērō.* 490-1 οὐ λόγων εὐσημόνων δεῖ σ', ἀλλὰ τάνδρός and 7. 49), as τούτων makes a definite reference desirable.

79. M. calls to Threissa, who has gone off at 8.

μελαινίδ': a kind of shell, presumably black in colour (*Sophr.* 101), hence a cup of the same shape. The marginal note in P may mean κυλ(ίκων) γέ(νος) εὐ(τελής) (Edmonds).

ἔκτριψον: 'wipe clean', as *Plu. Mor.* 693 d τῶν ἐκπωμάτων ἕκαστον ἐκτέτριπται.

80. ἐκτημόρους τρεῖς: 'three sixth-parts', i.e. half, of whatever standard liquid measure is to be thought of.

τοῦ ἀκρήτου: sc. οἴνου. *Men. Fr.* 512 ὁ πολὺς ἄκρατος ὀλίγ' ἀναγκάζει φρονεῖν.

81. ἐπιστάξασα: in contrast to the wine, which is to be poured in, the water is to be allowed only to drip on: G. is to get a strong potion. For the various proportions of each and the order of pouring (in early times water first, later wine first) see van Leeuwen on *Ar. Eq.* 1187.

καλῶς: 'no, thank you'; *Ar. Ra.* 888 ΔΙ. ἐπίθες λαβὼν δὴ καὶ σὺ λιβανωτόν. *EY.* καλῶς· ἕτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν οἷσιν εὐχομαι θεοῖς, *Plu. Mor.* 22 f ἐν τῇ συνθηαίαι καλῶς φάμεν ἔχειν καὶ χαίρειν κελεύομεν, ὅταν μὴ δεώμεθα μηδὲ λαμβάνωμεν. G. however needs only a little pressing. καλῶς was conjectured by Headlam, *Academy* 1891, 538 (though not mentioned in his edition) and read by Knox, *JEA* xiii (1927), 131; it suits the traces better than any other proposal. It has hitherto been taken as indicating assent, 'thanks!' or 'when!'; but the passages compared have οὕτως καλῶς (*Theopomp. Com.* 3. 2, *Men. Fr.* 257) or καλῶς ἔχει (*Men. Kol.* fr. 1), which are clearly different (in *Alex.* 232

*καλῶς* is not spoken by the person who is to receive the drink, but indicates general agreement with what precedes; as for Alex. 111. 4 Kaibel's comment '*νίκης καλῶς corrupta*' is adequate). The following proposals are to be taken with *πιεῖν*: *ἄδρῳ* 'in a large cup' Crusius followed by Headlam: possible as a reading, but poor in sense; *ἄδρῶς* (Bücheler followed by Meister) is a little better, but *δὸς πιεῖν* really requires no addition; *ἰδρῳ*, 'eagerly, quickly' (Blass followed by Nairn and Groeneboom) cannot be read and is an implausible expression.

82. *τῇ, Γυλλί, πῖθι*: this must be spoken by M. (Headlam, Knox, Cataudella), not by Threissa (Ribbeck and most edd.), who would never dare address a guest in this way.

*τῇ*: 'here!' This is an instrumental case from the demonstr. stem \**lo-*. In Hom. it is always followed by an imper. (as Od. 9. 347 *τῇ πῖε οἶνον*), and so in most of the later writers who borrow it from him (as Cratin. 141 *τῇ νῦν τόδε πῖθι λαβών*). When Simm. 26. 3 uses it with an accus., he is agreeing with those ancient grammarians who thought it an imp. (of \**τάω* or \**τῇμι*); *τῇτε* (Sophr. 156) no more proves this than *ἰῇτε* (Pi. *Pae.* 6. 122) proves *ἰῇ* to be a verb (*δεῦρο, δεῦτε* is more complicated; see Frisk s.v. and A. J. Beattie, *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1949, 1-21). P has *τῇ*, as some papyri and MSS. of Hom.; and Hds. may have so written, thinking it a dat.

*δεῖξον*: this is usually taken to mean 'give me it': but none of the alleged classical exx. of this sense (J. Gonda, *ΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΙ*, 32 sqq.) is anywhere near certain, and it cannot safely be assumed here. However 'point out' is unsuitable (unless G. is very short-sighted). The solution may lie in the end of the line, where the traces are incompatible with all proposed supplements. Nothing useful can be said, except that a negat. seems essential, and that this may or may not be the *οὐ* after *δεῖξον*.

83. *ἔκητι τῶν ἱρῶν*: presumably the rites of Aphrodite, which she has tried to persuade M. to observe (61 sqq.). That G. should refer to the *Λήναια* or a similar wine-festival (Crusius) or to the *κάθοδος τῆς Μίσης* (Herzog) or that she should in confusion say the first thing that comes into her head (Nairn) seems absurd.

84-5. The loss of the ends of the lines makes interpretation difficult. The best solution is that of Knox, *CR* xxxix (1925), 15: (G. continues to excuse herself) *ὦν οὐνεκεν μοι—* <MH.> *Γυλλί, ὦνα[γῆς θλάσσαι] / ὅσσ' οὐ γένοιτο.* <FY.> 'Let the fine fellow (Gryllos) crush what belongs to him' (cf. 2. 83; for *ἀναγῆς* 2. 70). It is not a serious objection that P indicates no change of speaker (cf. *CQ* n.s. xvi [1966], 118). *ἔθλασσα* is an epic form of a type not found in Hds.; Knox later suggested *ἴσχοι. οἶ*, genit. of *ἔ*, is not elsewhere used by Hds., but he has the dat. *οἶ*.

Most edd. give 84 to M. and 85 to G., take *ωνα* to be *ὦναο* (for the

form cf. Call. *Fr.* 75. 6 and Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 1368), and complete the line with a word meaning 'wine' (ζωροῦ Bücheler, ἡδίστου Crusius, οἴνου δὴ Ludwig), 'because of these you have had enjoyment of the wine from me'. A variant on this is given by Herzog: ὦνα[ο Γρύλλου, 'dafür hast du auch eine Eroberung an Gr. gemacht'. In 85 they read ὅς σοῦ γένοιτο . . . π[ολὺς λήνῳι or equivalents]. The fatal objection to this approach is that ὦναός μοί τινος is unparalleled and impossible Greek (Knox, Loeb ed. p. 178, where μου is of course an error). It also involves the placing of μᾶ in mid sentence, while elsewhere it comes first (except in 5. 59 where the emphatic σέ precedes), and its unparalleled use with an optat. σοῦ would have to be changed to σεῦ (Meister). Headlam supposes σοῦ to stand for σοι εἶ, and changes os to ὡς: 'may it do you good'; this involves rather too many assumptions. Knox later (Loeb ed. p. 354) gave up the solution approved above, and, continuing everything to G., read ὦν οὐνεκεν μοι Γ<ρ>υλ-λίωνα [ἔχοις μύστην] / ὅς σοῦ γένοιτο (sc. μύστης). But G. can hardly return to her persuasion with no protest from M.

μᾶ: with the exception of μᾶ γὰ in A. *Supp.* 890, 900, this word occurs only in Hds. and in Theoc. 15. 89. It is always used by women and commonly in first place (above). It is clearly a very primitive word meaning 'mother' (cf. Schmidt 12 sqq.); in Hds. and Theoc. it is little more (though see 4. 43 n.) than an exclamation, expressing astonishment, admiration, or indignation. Sch. Theoc. says Συνακούσιον τὸ μᾶ, ἐπὶ ἀγανακτήσεως λεγόμενον: this is too restrictive in both parts, and is probably a generalization from that passage.

At the end of 85 I should expect the praise of the wine to begin: e.g. π[ολὺς τε καὶ (καὶ . . . γε, Denniston 157); π[οτοῦ καλοῦ (attributed by Headlam to Nicholson, apparently wrongly) is pleonastic with 86. Knox's π[αρήβηκα ('I am past that', taking M.'s remark to refer to herself) makes 86 very abrupt and M.'s general remark too particular.

86. ναὶ Δῆμητρα, Μητρίχη: I take this with the following sentence, which seems more natural than the usual reference to the preceding.

Μητρίχη τούτου: this is undoubtedly the reading of P. Blass's *Μητρίχης οἴνου*, adopted by all edd. before 1928, cannot be read and gives an unlikely expression.

87. ἡδῖον': but βέλτιον 2. 91, as is usual in such forms in all dialects except Att. Exceptional in Att. are βέλτιον A. *Fr.* 616. 3 (βέλτερον Burney), ἡδῖον E. *Supp.* 1101 (ἄξιον Nauck), and βελτίῳ Eup. 20 D. (κάλλιον in Ar. *Eq.* 1264 is taken over from Pi. *Fr.* 89a). Cf. W. Schulze, *Quaest. Epic.* 299 sqq. Hds. has introduced an Att. form here, perhaps unintentionally.

88. εὐτύχει: 'farewell'. A common ending to letters, both literary (e.g. D. 18. 78, 157, *Ep.* 1-6, Pl. *Ep.* 4, 5, 11) and real (e.g. Hunt

and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, i, nos. 91, 100). The equivalent *εὐτυχοίης* in A. Ch. 1063, E. Alc. 1153.

μοι: ethic dat., as II. 23. 19 *χαίρέ μοι* etc.

ἀσ[φα]λίξ[ε]υ [δέ] or ἀσ[φα]λίξ[ο]ν[σα] (Diels) must be correct; the verb is used by Epicur., Plb., and later prose writers. A second imp. seems superior to a part. For the sense cf. Call. *Del.* 150 *σώζεο χαίρων*, Ar. *Ec.* 481 *φύλαττε σαυτὴν ἀσφαλῶς*.

89. Myrtale and Sime are other *ἐταῖραι*, of whom G. hopes for better things. *Μυρτάλη* is the name of a *ἐταῖρα* also in 2. 65, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 13. 14, Mart. 5. 4, and elsewhere; so are the bearers of the related names *Μυρτίλη*, *Μυρτώ*, *Μυρίννη*, and *Μύρτιον*. Names derived from flowers are commonly given to *ἐταῖραι*; myrtle was especially suitable as being sacred to Aphrodite (e.g. Plu. *Marc.* 22. 4 *τὸ μύρτον Ἀφροδίτης φυτόν*, Luc. *Icar.* 27, Virg. *Ecl.* 7. 62 *gratissima . . . formosae myrtus Veneri*). The fact that *μύρτον* can mean *pudenda muliebria* (*LSJ* s.v. II), emphasized by Pisani, is of doubtful relevance.

Σίμη is not apparently elsewhere the name of a *ἐταῖρα*, but *Σίμων* (cf. G. Giangrande, *CQ* N.S. xii [1962], 218 sqq.), *Σίμαιθα*, and *Σιμ(μ)ίχη* are; and, according to Arist. *Phgn.* 811b, οἱ . . . *σιμὴν ἔχοντες λάγνοι*. *σιμός* is a common attribute of the notoriously lascivious goat.

90. Similarly the *lena* in Plaut. *Cist.* 49 says to Gymnasium: *si quidem ita eris ut uolo . . . semper . . . istam quam nunc habes aetatulam optinebis*.

## 2

SUBJECT. The speech for the prosecution in the case *Battaros v. Thales*, for assault.

CHARACTERS. B., the speaker, is a *πορνοβοσκός* (and not ashamed of it, 74 sqq.), living as a *μέτοικος* in Kos. He represents himself as poor and humble, a law-abiding man who has been grossly wronged by Th. (who is alleged to have broken into his house, doing some damage, and to have attempted to remove one of his *πορναί*). This is not the normal picture of members of this *αἰσχρὰ ἐργασία* (Thphr. *Char.* 6. 5) that one gets from ancient literature: and we are not intended to believe in it. Of one of his colleagues it is said (Plaut. *Rud.* 346), *si deos decepit et homines lenonum more fecit*, and *periurus leno* is a standing phrase. His real character breaks out in the indecency of 42 sqq. One characteristic of the profession was greed (Ter. *HT* prol. 39 *avarus leno*, cf. Arist. *EN* 1121b32), and B. shows this (82, 89); another was shamelessness (D. Chr. 4. 96 *πορνοβοσκῶι . . . ἀναιδεῖ*, Plaut. *Curc.* 58 *pudor si quouquam*

*lenoni siet*), and B. shows this to a high degree throughout his speech. He is thus the typical *leno* trying to appear untypical.

The defendant is the owner and captain of a trading vessel, and sailors in port have been notorious in every age for rowdiness and womanizing; in Greece, e.g., a cook in Diph. 43. 19-22 describes a ναύκληρος as ἀπαθής, εὐπορηκώς, περιχαρής εἰς δέκ' ἐπὶ τῇ μνᾷ γεγονέναι καὶ δώδεκα, λαλῶν τὰ ναῦλα καὶ <τὰ> δάνει' ἐρυγγάνων, ἀφροδίσι' ὑπὸ κόλλοις μαστροποῖς ποιῶν.

The clerk of the court recites a law, and Myrtale, the πορνὴ desired by Th., is a κωφὸν πρόσωπον.

PURPOSE. It is generally said that the piece is a parody of Attic court speeches, but this is to give the wrong emphasis. It is of course true that Hds. uses material from that source, but his primary intention is not to parody them, but to depict a πορνοβοσκός making such a speech. As usual, he portrays a character.

STRUCTURE. Here we have no symmetrical scheme (as in 1, 3, 4, and 6), no logical progression (as in 5 and 7): B. tries indeed to keep to the normal pattern of a legal speech, but he is constantly diverted from his theme and repeats himself endlessly. This is of course part of the characterization.

SOURCES. (a) In Sophr. there was a character Βουλίας, who, in making a speech (ῥητορεύων), οὐδὲν ἀκόλουθον αὐτῷ λέγει (109); possibly therefore in the mime tradition.

(b) The πορνοβοσκός as a stock character appears in Middle Comedy (Eub. 88, 89, Anaxil. ii. 272 K.), and especially in New Comedy, represented for us mainly by Plaut. and Ter. (for a necessary reservation in equating the *leno* with the πορνοβοσκός see E. Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* 140 n.).

(c) The framework of the piece, and many of the details, are provided by court procedure; and here Hds. clearly draws much from the Attic orators.

SCENE. A law-court in Kos (95 sqq.).

DATE. Probably before 266 B.C. (see 16 n.).

1-10. 'Despite the superior wealth of Th. we are really equal, and should be so in the eyes of the law.' Juries are repeatedly reminded of this by the orators, e.g. Isoc. 20. 19 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀποβλέψας ὅτι πένης εἰμὶ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους εἷς, ἀξιούτω τοῦ τιμήματος ἀφαιρεῖν, whether to combat respect for wealth or to increase sympathy for poverty.

1. γενῆς: this form also in 32, 4. 84, Hippon. 75. 5, Call. *Fr.* 511,

Aeschrio 6. 7 (*v.l.* γονήν), *IG* xii. 7. 449. 5 (Amorgos, ii B.C.; poetical), and plausibly conjectured by Headlam in Leon. *AP* 7. 422. 3. Wilamowitz, *GV* 306 (discussing the probable scansion γενέαι in *Pi. P.* 7. 3) considers it a contraction of γενέα (so also *KB* i. 378, Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* iii. 60, and others) and hence accents γενῆν in Hippon., Call., Aeschrio, and Leon.: but edd. generally accent γενῆν and must therefore believe it a separate formation. The former is more likely, the stem being γενε/o.

2. δήκουθεν: this, like δῆκου in 5. 24, is an outward Ionicization of the purely Att. (comedy and prose) δῆπου(θεν); it was a favourite word of the Atticists ridiculed by Luc. (*Rh. Pr.* 18, *Lex.* 21). Headlam thinks it sounds a 'note of burlesque'; but Hds. probably did not intend that. Cf. M. Lejeune, *Les Adv. gr. en -θεν*, 306.

4. ταλάντων πέντε: in Lys. 32. 25 a ὀλκὰς δυοῖν ταλάντων is mentioned, in D. 33. 12 a ship is sold for 40 minas. B. probably exaggerates.

ἐγὼ δὲ μὴδ' ἄρτους: B. is starving! A less exaggerated comparison in Theoc. 10. 13 ἐκ πίθω ἀντλεῖς δῆλον· ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω οὐδ' ἄλις ὄξος.

5. P apparently has ὑπερέξει, and this fits well in the sense 'prevail' (as, e.g., Thgn. 202 θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος). The line may then have begun with δίκηι (Crusius) or οὕτω (Knox, *CR* xlii [1928], 163) or νῆ Δι' (Knox, *ib.*; for the division of the dactyl cf. 40, 56), or, no doubt, in many other ways (but probably not οὐδ' ὥς, as A. W. Gomme, *CR* xliii [1929], 15, suggests: ὥς does not occur in Hds., and resolution of the first *anceps* is doubtful, see 3. 71 n.). These supplements assume that οὐδ' εἰ in 3 begins a new sentence: Headlam on the other hand took the clause as an indirect question dependent on κριταί, with a variation in construction from the genitives of 1 and 2, and supplemented ἀλλ' εἰ here, comparing D. 43. 61 ἔστιν δ' ὁ νῦν ἀγὼν καὶ ἡ διαδικασία οὐκ εἰ . . . ἀλλ' εἰ . . ., and similar passages. But 3-4 must be a statement of (exaggerated) fact, not a matter to be decided by the court; see also on 6. To read παρέξει (Herwerden, Headlam) is quite unjustified.

6. The traces in the first half are very uncertain, but Milne's πολλοὺ γε καὶ δεῖ seems to fit best. As Knox pointed out, the phrase is common in D., always after a negat. (but not after ἀλλά, hence Headlam's view of the structure of the passage is wrong), and usually followed by ἀλλά, but occasionally by γάρ, as 29. 40, 42. 25. Herzog's φέρω δ] ἐπίστιν does not fit the traces.

Knox's interpretation of the end of the line seems fairly certain. There are only 2, or at most 3, letters missing after γάρ; and ἄν seems a better supplement than δεῖ (Sitzler, Knox *olim*), especially if δεῖ is correct earlier. ἀλυκὸν κλαύειν is unparalleled; but Call. *Fr.* 313 ἀλυκὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ and Theoc. 23. 24 ἀλμυρὰ κλαύσεις taken

together show that it is a possible expression; and it is especially suitable in view of Th.'s occupation.

7. This line is impossible to interpret. The only word to be recognized with certainty is  $\eta\iota$ , and that might be verb or relative. It seems more probable that  $\iota\eta\varsigma$  is the end of a noun than that  $\iota\eta\sigma\sigma\mu(\alpha\iota)$  is the end of a verb ( $\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  [Crusius] was once a favourite, but it cannot be read;  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota\eta\sigma\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  [Terzaghi] does not give any suitable sense, nor does  $\iota\eta\sigma\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  [Bell]); perhaps a genit. of cause with  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  ( $\tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\iota'$ )  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$  Knox, but  $\kappa$  is unlikely).  $\omicron\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  may then be  $\delta$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  or  $\delta\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (cf.  $\delta\mu\acute{\omicron}\rho(\tau)\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ). Between  $\sigma$  and  $\nu$  there are (as in 6) only 2, or at most 3, letters:  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\tau\upsilon \kappa]\alpha\grave{\iota}$  Knox,  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega]\nu$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma[\tau\langle\acute{\epsilon}\rangle\omega]\nu$  also Knox.

8. The traces are again very uncertain. The reading of Headlam,  $\epsilon\nu \delta\eta\nu\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\mu\iota \delta'$ , seems most consistent with them (cf. S. *El.* 1124  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \epsilon\nu \delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\iota \gamma' \omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ), but that of F. D.,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , is possible and gives a better phrase as  $\kappa\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}$  requires a counterpart (for the genit. with  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  cf. A. *Pers.* 319  $\mu$ .  $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ , *Ch.* 971  $\mu$ .  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omega\nu$ , S. *OC* 934  $\mu$ .  $\tau\eta\sigma\delta\epsilon \tau\eta\varsigma \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ ).

$\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ : dissyllabic  $\upsilon -$ , as in 31 (but trisyllabic in 26, as 1. 68 *Μάνδριος*); so  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omega\varsigma$  in Il. 2. 811, 21. 567,  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$  in Od. 8. 560. For the theory and similar exx. see Schwyzer i. 244. Meister's  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is therefore unnecessary.

9. B. becomes philosophical. Cf. D. 57. 31  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \delta' \omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  (sc.  $\tau\eta\nu \mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ ; a disgraceful occupation)  $\kappa\alpha\iota \zeta\eta\nu \omicron\upsilon\chi \omicron\nu\tau\iota\nu\alpha \tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ ; Men. *Fr.* 45  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho \omicron\upsilon\chi \acute{\omega}\varsigma \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ .

$\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}[\mu\epsilon\langle\sigma\rangle]\theta'$ : correcting what the papyrus is thought to have had is a dangerous business, but it seems essential here. C will have been omitted between E and  $\Theta$ , and the metre then 'corrected'.

10.  $\delta$   $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  seems a reasonable supplement; Th. is represented as an opportunist in 57-9, and it suits B. also. The closest parallel cited is Philostr. *Ep.* 10  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \omicron\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota$ .

B. turns to another point (inspired by his statement in 8, if F.D.'s reading is correct there): my  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$  is as able as his. The choice of  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$  was an indication of the character of the  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , Isoc. 8. 53  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma \nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ . On the office of  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ , the citizen whom a  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  was obliged to have as patron or sponsor, see *RE* Suppl. ix. 1297 sqq.

[ . . . ]: the gap is apparently of only two letters as in 11, and the following trace is more like  $\iota$  than the final upright of  $\nu$ . Therefore  $[\acute{\epsilon}\chi](\epsilon)\iota$  is more likely than  $[\acute{\epsilon}\chi(\epsilon)\iota]\nu$  (Blass),  $[\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu](\epsilon)\iota$  (Knox), or  $[\langle\nu\rangle\acute{\epsilon}\mu(\epsilon)\iota]\nu$  (Crusius). Cf. Ar. *Pl.* 920  $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \gamma' \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$ . The marginal  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$  is presumably the note of a reader who remembered the more technical phrase (Arist. *Pol.* 1275<sup>a</sup>1, Suda  $\nu$  166), not

intended as a variant (Nairn adopted *νέμειν* and took it as imp. infin., but as Groeneboom saw there is no question of a *προστάτης* being chosen now).

**Μέννῃν**: a strong-sounding name (known as that of a ruler of Kyme, Nic. Dam. 90 F 51).

**11. Ἀριστοφῶντα**: it may or may not have been in Hds.'s mind that a man of this name, *ὃς ἰσχυρότατος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται*, was prosecuted for *παράνομα* by Hyp. (*Eux.* 28, *Fr.* 40-4) or that another was an Olympic victor (Paus. 6. 13. 11).

**12.** If *κ[ῆτι]* is correct, cf. *Il.* 1. 455 *ἔτι καὶ νῦν*.

**ἄγχει**: the contrast with *πῶς νενίκηκεν* suggests that Cataudella and Puccioni are right in seeing a reference only to wrestling, without erotic overtones (cf. *I.* 18); cf. Gow on *Theoc.* 5. 106.

**13.** Blass's *κεῖ μ]ή* is possible.

**14. ...** [(?) *θετωσ(ε)* less likely) [.. (definitely more than one letter)] *ων* P: a form of *ἐλθεῖν* seems inescapable, *ἐξ-* probable. The presence of *ἄνδρες* makes *ἐξέλθετ'* (Blass) more likely than *ἐξελθέτω* (Knox). This must then be followed by *ὥς* and a four-letter monosyllable ending in *-ων* (e.g. *σπῶν* Edmonds). Then (upright) [..] *ιχε* (not *ι*): presumably *]εῖχε*. But the construction and supplements are uncertain. The general sense appears to be that Aristophon is an accomplished *λωποδύτης* (Herzog objects that the *προστάτης* must be a respectable citizen, not a thief: this is not certain—cf. *Isoc.* quoted on 10—and even so it is not inconceivable that B. should jokingly pretend that he is).

**15. προστάτη τεθώρηγμα**: apparently a novel expression, but cf. the similar metaphor in *Ar.* *Pax* 687 *τοῦτον τέως τὸν ἄνδρα περιεζώσατο*.

**16-20.** 'Th. is no more a benefactor to the city than I am: though he has imported grain in time of scarcity [a service frequently advanced in pleas for favour: *D.* 20. 33, 34. 38-9, *Isoc.* 17. 57], he no more did so for nothing than I give away my services.'

**16. ἐρεῖ]** *τάχ' ὕμιν* is probable: B. uses the rhetorical figure of *προκατάληψις* (used also in similar contexts by *Aeschin.* 3. 17, *D.* 38. 25).

**Ἄκης**: this ancient city in Phoenicia was one of several great trading centres in that area; especially after the conquests of Alexander, the bulk of East-West trade passed through it. After Ptolemy II gained control of the region (c. 290 B.C.), *Ἄκη* became the chief Egyptian base; immigration made it largely Greek, and it was renamed *Πτολεμαῖς* (between 286 and 266, on numismatic evidence). Th. Reinach, *Mél. Havet* 452-5, claimed that the latter fact dated this piece to before 266; the objections that the old name might have continued in popular use (Ph. E. Legrand, *Ét. sur Théoc.*) and that *Ἄκη* might have been preferred to *Πτολεμαῖς* as metrically more



convenient (Herzog) have some weight, but the dating is confirmed by that of 1 and 4.

17. ἔσθησα: 'I checked', as Arist. *HA* 595a22 νῆστιν ἰστάντες; the medical use, as in Dsc. 1. 129 αἱμορραγίας ἰστᾶν, is similar.

τὴν λιμόν: in all dialects except Att. and in the κοινή λιμός is regularly fem. (*LSJ*, Schwyzer ii. 37 a).

κακὴν: as Call. *Fr.* 260. 43B (= *Fr.* 346) κακῆς ἀλκητήρια λιμοῦ.

18. Τύρου: like Ἄκη, an extremely important trading centre in Phoenicia. After a long history, going back to the third millennium B.C., of independence and partial subservience to the empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, it was conquered by Alexander in 332 and destroyed, but recovered rapidly; it came under Ptolemaic control with the rest of south Syria and Palestine.

19. Headlam's supplement τοῦτ' ἐστί; probably gives the sense; cf. D. 20. 20 τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐὰν ἅπαντες λειτουργῶσι;

δωρεὴν: 'as a gift, gratis'. The adverbial use is Ion. (*Hdt.* 5. 23. 1) and κοινή (*Plb.*, *LXX*, *inscr.*); the text of And. 1. 4 is uncertain and δωρεάν an improbable conjecture.

20. κινῆν P: if Hicks is right (all recent edd. accept his interpretation), the accent is inexplicable—it is a circumflex, not a deleted acute (Hicks) nor εἰ (F. D.) nor part of υρ in 19 (Crusius). A possible alternative is that κινῆν is written for κινεῖν (cf. 29 ζώην), οὐτ' ἐγὼ πάλιν πορνᾶς δωρεὴν δίδωμι κινεῖν; for the sense of κινεῖν see 5. 2 n.

If κείνην is correct, the verb to be supplied at the beginning must govern both πυρούς and κείνην: δίδωσ' ἀλήθειν (F. D., Blass) is good, cf. Theoc. 4. 58 τὸ γερόντιον ἦ ῥ' ἔτι μύλλει τήναν . . .; (Gow gives Lat. parallels) and possibly *Carm.* *poφ.* 23(869) καὶ γὰρ Πίττακος ἄλει (according to the interpretation of A. von Blumenthal, *Hermes* lxxv [1940], 225 sqq.); Hds. uses ἀλήθω (an Ion. and κοινή variant of ἀλέω) in the literal sense in 6. 81. If κινεῖν is correct this condition need not be fulfilled, and e.g. δίδωσιν ἔσθειν (Crusius) would be possible.

21-40. B. again contrasts the wealth of Th. with his own condition, and claims that Th.'s action, if unpunished, will undermine the security of the state; Th. should imitate his betters, who do not behave thus. A narration of Th.'s crime is incidentally introduced.

21. πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν: 'sails across the sea' (accus. of extent), a common phrase especially in the orators (e.g. And. 1. 137, D. 4. 34). The point is not that a sailor's life is enviable (it was not: Posidipp. 22 ὁ μὴ πεπλευκῶς οὐδὲν ἑώρακεν κακόν), but that Th. owns a valuable vessel (3-4).

22. τριῶν μνέων: as far as can be judged, a gross exaggeration. A woollen garment in Eup. 252 costs 20 dr., as does a ἱμάτιον in Ar. *Pl.* 982-3 and *IG* xii. 2. 161 A 117 (Delos, 279 B.C.).

**Ἀττικῶν**: the Attic silver standard was in use throughout the Greek world in the third century B.C., with the exception of the Ptolemaic empire, where the Rhodian standard was adopted c. 310. The adj. would therefore be redundant anywhere else, and may indicate that Hds. was writing there.

**23. τρίβωνα**: sc. ἔχων, 'nam τρίβωνα breviorē vestem nemo ἔλκει' (Herwerden). The τρίβων, a threadbare cloak, was worn by Spartans, poor men, and ascetic philosophers (Starkie on Ar. V. 33).

**ἀσκέρας**: taken from Hippon. 34. 3 (who also has ἀσκερίσκα 32. 4), as it is by Lyc. 855, 1322. (The claim of the Συν. λέξι. χρησ. [Suda α 4165, AB 452. 9] that they were ὑποδήματα Ἀττικά receives support from Supp. Epigr. xiii. 13. 148, an Att. inscr. of 415 B.C.). According to Poll. 7. 85 they were ὑπόδημα λάσιον χειμῶνος χρήσιμον, and Tz. pompously upbraids Lyc. for not realizing that they were πύλια ἦτοι ἀρτάρια (ii. 277 Scheer). Those of B., being σαπραί, would not give the protection expected by Hippon.

**ἔλκων**: the shoes are so rotten that they have to be dragged along. Cf. 7. 125.

**24. ἄξει**: 'if he is to take', cf. A. Eu. 490 sqq. νῦν καταστροφὰι νέων θεσμίῳν, εἰ κρατήσει δίκαι <τε> καὶ βλαβὰ τοῦδε μητροκτόνου, E. El. 583-4 χρὴ μήκεθ' ἡγεῖσθαι θεοῦς, εἰ τᾷδικ' ἔσται τῆς δίκης ὑπέρτερα, GMT § 407.

**ἐμ' οὐ πείσας**: so Labrax complains in Plaut. Rud. 712 *meas mihi ancillas invito me eripis*, and Sannio in Ter. Ad. 198 *me invito abduxit meam*.

**25. καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός**: 'le leno, qui exerce son métier surtout pendant la nuit, parle ici en brave homme de bourgeois qui va se coucher de bonne heure' (Groeneboom). Headlam thinks the point is 'that it would certainly have been urged as an aggravation of the offence if it had been committed in the *day-time*': but B. is making the fact of its having been committed at night an aggravation.

**οἷχετ' κτλ.**: a rhetorical commonplace (e.g. Isoc. 20. 9-11, D. 25. 18 sqq.), derided by Dinarchos, [D.] 58. 34, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύητε αὐτῶι λέγοντι ὡς . . . ὁ δῆμος καταλύεται· ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πάντα πωλοῦντες λέγειν εἰθισμένοι εἰσὶν, and ridiculously out of place in this case.

**ἤμιν**: dat. *incommodi*. B., though a μέτοικος, joins himself with the citizens in defence of the state.

**ἀλεωρή**: formed from ἀλέα (cf. Schwyzer i 484. 7), this properly means 'avoiding', 'shelter from', or 'defence against'. Hds. stretches it a little to be nearly synonymous with ἀσφάλεια, and so it is explained by Hsch. α 2913.

**26. ὅτ(ε)ωι**: Hds. uses relat. ὅστις with individual reference here, 3. 27, 4. 12, and 5. 23 (general in 5. 6, 6. 36, 56, 7. 112); this use is found as early as Hom. and increases later (Schwyzer ii. 643. 8).

σεμνύνεσθε: 'of which you are proud'; with ἐπί and dat. also Pl. *Tht.* 175 a, Isoc. 16. 29, D. 19. 235.

27. τὴν αὐτονομίην: Kos was at this time an independent ally of Egypt.

28-30. 'Yet he ought, realizing who he is and the kind of clay from which he is mixed, to live as I do, trembling before even the least of the common citizens.' After his bombast B. becomes humble.

28. ἐχρηναυτον P: an ancestor will have had the ε suprascript or in the margin, and it has been wrongly replaced (helped, possibly, by a tendency to regard the augmented form as normal and correct).

ἐαυτὸν ὅστις ἐστί: probably 'know what kind of man he is', 'know his proper position in society', and not 'know that he is merely a mortal man', because of the following phrase. Cf. E. *Alc.* 640 (Admetos to Pheres) ἔδειξας εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξελθὼν ὃς εἶ, Men. *Asp.* 144-5 γνωριμώτερόν τε τοῖς πᾶσι πῶσας αὐτὸν οἶός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ.

28-9. κάκ ποίου πηλοῦ πεφύρητ(αι): the presence of ποίου makes it impossible to take the reference to be to man's low nature, formed from mere clay (a common idea based on the myth of Prometheus making the first man from that material, cf. Pfeiffer on Call. *Fr.* 493). Here it is supposed that superior men are made from superior clay and vice versa; so Juv. 14. 33 *unus et alter forsitan haec spernunt iuvenes, quibus arte benigna et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan.*

ποίου: as in 56 and 7. 22, the non-Ion. form is to be retained for the alliteration (cf. 3. 66 sq.); for alliteration with π see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 268. It probably indicates B.'s excitement and indignation.

ζῶειν: P's ζῶειν has been explained as arising from a misunderstanding of ζῶιν, i.e. ζῶειν glossed ζῆν (Crusius) or of a compendium (Knox). Or a scribe may have missed the construction and imagined that an opt. was required.

30. δημοτέων: those of the δῆμος, the common citizens, opposed to βασιλῆς and πρεσβύται γέροντες by Tyr. 3b. 5, to those οἰκίης ἐπιφανέος by Hdt. 2. 172. 2, to οἱ ἐφεστῶτες by S. *Aj.* 1071; in the pl. coupled with πένητες X. *Mem.* 1. 2. 58. It is inaccurate to say that this sense is Ion.; rather it is the original sense, which in Att. has been largely supplanted by a derived sense, 'of the same deme'.

φρίσσοντα: a word denoting strong fear (as 6. 64) or dread (as Il. 24. 775). B. exaggerates the amount of respect necessary.

ἥκιστον: as in the positive ἥκα, so in the superl. this word usually forms only the adv. ἥκιστα (though the compar. ἥσσων is used without restriction); but it was open to any experimenter with language to form an adj., and so we have, besides this passage, Il. 23. 531 ἥκιστος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς ἐλαυνόμεν ἄρμ' ἐν ἀγῶνι (frequently imitated by Ael.) and S. *Fr.* 410 ἄμοχθος γὰρ οὐδέεις· ὁ δ' ἥκιστ' ἔχων μακάρτατος (Pearson's

expedient of taking ἡκιστ' as an adv. and understanding μόχθους is unconvincing).

31. νῦν δ': as opposed to Th.'s arrogance and unlawfulness, implied in the preceding statement of what Th. ought to be.

καλυπτῆρες: 'tiles', the objects which cover the roof (in the literal sense only in later writers and inscr.), hence the people at the top of society. Similarly E. *Fr.* 703 ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι. 'Protectors' (*LSJ* cite X. *Eq.* 12. 5 for this sense of καλύπτειν, but it is merely a particular case of 'cover'—a piece of armour covering part of the body) is less likely: B. is obsessed with class distinctions.

32. 'Who swell with pride in their family to a different degree from him.'

φυσῶντες: the metaphor is from the puffed-up cheeks of a flute-player, and normally denotes arrogance (e.g. Men. *Fr.* 251 ὦ τρισάθλιοι ἅπαντες οἱ φυσῶντες ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μέγα· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἴσασιν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν; cf. Pearson on S. *Fr.* 768): the objects of B.'s compliment would think it a dubious one, but he is impervious to such niceties. It takes the dat. like γαυριᾶν etc. (*KG* i. 439).

οὐκ ἴσον: i.e. μεῖζον; cf. S. *OT* 810 οὐ μὴν ἴσῃν γ' ἔτεισεν.

33. πρὸς τοὺς νόμους βλέπουσι: 'look to, i.e. respect, the laws'. In S. *Ant.* 921–2 τί χρὴ με τὴν δύστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι βλέπειν the sense is rather 'look for help to' (see Jebb), in Cleanth. *Stoic.* 559 μὴ πρὸς δόξαν ὄρα it is 'consider'.

34. ἠλόησεν: 'thrashed' (with the same metaphor). In 51 Hds. uses (or his copyists present us with) the alternative form ἀλοι-, which is the original one (cf. πατραλοίας etc.), and appears in Hippon. 79. 2.

34–7. Here, and in 50–3, 63, 65, B. details the result of a κῶμος: Th. came to his house at night, broke down and burned the door, assaulted B., and tried to carry off Myrtale. This type of drunken revelry is profusely illustrated by Headlam ad loc. (cf. also Gow, *Theoc.* ii. 64); it was no doubt, as Headlam says, 'one of the most picturesque features of Greek and Roman life'. but it must have caused considerable annoyance to more sober citizens, and not least to the recipients, like B.

35. δαΐδας: the torches would be mainly to light their way in the dark streets, but would also be useful when, as here, the door was burned. Blass and Meister write δαΐδας, but cf. Schwyzler, i. 265–6.

36. τὴν οἰκίην ὑφῆψεν: B. exaggerates, cf. 65.

τῶν πορνέων: partitive genit. Headlam rightly says that, where such a genit. is used of persons, they are 'regarded as a class, their individuality not contemplated' (but he goes too far in inferring that 'in their keeper's eyes they are only so much stock'); cf. Il. 14. 121 Ἀδρήστοιο δ' ἔγχευε θυγατρῶν and other exx. given by Headlam and by *KG* i. 345.

37. οἶχῳκεν: the 'reduplication' is omitted by all or most MSS. of Hdt. (1. 189. 1, 8. 108. 1, 9. 98. 1), A. (*Pers.* 13), and S. (*Aj.* 896, *Fr.* 241), probably correctly, although edd., especially of S., frequently write ὤι-. The perf. usually means 'to have vanished, to be ruined'; but the pluperf. is used as an ordinary past tense by Hdt. 1. 189. 1 οἶχῳκεε φέρων.

Φρύξ: as in 100, 3. 36, 5. 14, the Phrygian is a worthless barbarian.

38. Th., according to B. at least, has changed his name to conceal his barbarian and possibly servile origin. So D. alleges that Aeschin. τὸν μὲν πατέρ' ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην (18. 130), and Thphr.'s κακολόγος says of someone's father that his name, originally Σωσίας, became successively Σωσίστρατος and Σωσίδημος (*Char.* 28. 2). Ἀρτίμας is the name of a Persian satrap (X. *An.* 7. 8. 25), and is also a slave-name, cf. W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 419-22 (who would write single μ here, but variation between single and double consonant is not infrequent in names).

39. ἐπηιδέσθη: aor. pass., with accus.; also Pl. *Lg.* 921 α μηδὲν τὸν βιοδότην θεὸν ἐπαιδεσθείς. Cf. 6. 28.

40. οὔτε νόμον: here and in 56 there are apparent exceptions to Hds.'s practice of dividing dactyls and tribrachs only after the first syllable: but they are only apparent, as οὔτε is to be classed as a pre-positive (cf., e.g., K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* 13); the only real exception is 3. 19. For the same reason this is not one of the lines in which Hds. breaks Porson's law.

προστάτην: in the context this cannot have the same sense as in 10, but must be the title of a magistrate (as it was in Kos, Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. Cos.* p. xxxvi, equivalent to the Athenian πρύτανις, and elsewhere).

ἄρχοντα: in Kos ἄρχοντες was a technical term for a board of magistrates (Paton-Hicks, p. xxxv), but it may be general in sense here.

41. B. pulls himself up: he has described Th.'s conduct, but he must also show that it is illegal (καίτοι, cf. Denniston 557 ii; Headlam thinks this is an instance of καίτοι being used when the speaker, after making a statement of his case, invites the judgement of his audience; but that is not what B. does here—in fact, he turns away from the audience, the jury, to the clerk). His mention of νόμος in 40 reminds him to get the appropriate νόμος read out by the γραμματεὺς, the clerk of the court (for whom see *RE* vii. 2. 1740 sqq.).

αἰκείης: the spelling with εἰ, frequently given by MSS. (P's αικίης is ambiguous) but rarely accepted by edd., is etymologically necessary, ἀ(ε)ικε(σ)ία from ἀ(ε)ικῆς (the fact that the verb is ἀ(ε)ικίζω does not affect this, cf. ὀνειδίζω from ὀνειδος and Schwyzer i. 735 foot). The

original and Ion. form is *αεικ-*, which Hds. has avoided as not having the technical sense of the Att. *αικ-*. The *δίκη αικείας* was a charge of physical assault without provocation; see J. H. Lipsius, *Att. Recht*, 642 sqq.

42. *σύ*: the official, known as *ὁ ἐφ' ὕδαρ*, in charge of the *κλέψυδρα*, which was stopped when documents or evidence had to be read, as these did not count towards the time allotted to the speaker (Arist. *Ath.* 67. 3, Poll. 7. 113).

42-3. *τὴν ὀπήν βύσον τῆς κλεψύδρης*: the *κλέψυδρα* had a hole in the base through which the water escaped, and this would be plugged to stop it (cf. H. Diels, *Ant. Technik*<sup>2</sup>, 192 sq.). The orators normally say *ἐπιλαβε τὸ ὕδαρ*: B. is more precise, in order to lead up to his vulgar joke.

*βέλτιστε*: a familiar form of address which only B. could think of using to an official of the court.

*μέχρις οὗ* <ν>*εἶπη*: 'until he has read it out' (not 'while he reads it out', cf. *GMT* §§ 90-1). The hiatus presented by P is unlikely (6. 5 n.); and the insertion of (α)ν- is better than that of *αν* (which Hds. does not use with *μέχρις* and *ἄχρις*) or of γ' (both of these rejected by Herwerden, γ' proposed by Meister).

44-5. The general sense is clearly 'lest the anus is incontinent and the covers are stained'; B. compares the *ὀπή* of the *κλέψυδρα* to the anus of someone in the position of the speaker of Ar. *Fr.* 24 *πόθεν ἂν λάβοιμι βύσμα τῷ πρωκτῷ φλέων*. But some details are obscure. The following discussion owes much to Groeneboom, who decisively refutes some other explanations. Both Piccolomini and Rutherford failed to understand the passage, though getting some of the words correct.

44. *κύσος*: so to be accented; cf. Pfeiffer on Call. *Fr.* 191. 98, and add that Hdn. Gr. i. 206. 9 gives the general rule *τὰ εἰς σὸς δισύλλαβα ἀρσενικὰ μονογενῇ παραληγόμενα διχρόνῳ ἐκτεταμένῳ βαρύνεται*, that in *Chol. Adesp.* 6 the *υ* need not, *pace LSJ*, be short, and that the cod. Marc. of Hsch. is unreliable on such matters (cf. Latte's *Proleg.* xxvii). It must mean 'anus' (*οἱ κωμικοὶ* used it in the sense *πρωκτός* according to *EM* 311. 45, and *πυγὴ* is one of the explanations of Hsch. κ 4738), and not 'bladder' (= *κύστις LSJ*), although the latter would give a closer resemblance to the *κλέψυδρα* (this is probably too logical for B.): a bladder cannot 'speak'. It cannot be B.'s own anus, activated by fear that his allowance of time will run out (G. Italie, *Museum* xxx [1923], 257), because *τάπησ* cannot mean clothing.

*φῆι τι*: Nicholson conjectured *φῆσι* subj. (rather *φῆσι*, cf. Schwyzler i. 661 foot), but this will not do since (M. L. West, *Philol.* cx [1966], 160) *φημί* means 'say', not 'speak'; I therefore adopt Rutherford's correction (for confusion of σ and τ cf. i. 89). *φθῆσι* (Headlam, reading *πρόσθε* or *πρὸ ὅ τε*) and *φρῆσι* (West, reading *πρός τε*) involve

further changes without gain. For a speaking anus cf. *Ar. Ra.* 237-9 (Dionysos) *χω πρωκτὸς ἰδίδει πάλαι, κἀντ' αὐτίκ' ἐκκύψας ἐρεῖ*— (*Frogs*) *βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ*. The reading , *φησί*, is impossible: its subject could not be *τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο* (below), and if it meant *ut aiunt* (when one would expect *φασί*, as Headlam once conjectured), it would be intolerably tautologous with that phrase.

*προστε* is usually taken as *πρός τε*, which leads to great difficulties. Attempts to find an accus. in *κυσος* are not worth refuting. Lloyd-Jones suggests understanding *ἡμᾶς* (keeping *φῆσι*), which seems very hard to me. *πρός*, if it were an adv., would have had to stand in the second clause ('both in addition . . . and . . . ' is nonsense). Tmesis with *φησι* is ruled out because *πρόσφημι* always has a personal object, 'speak to someone', with *κύρσηι* (Pisani; for the order cf. *1. 37 n.*) because *προσκυρέω* is not used with the genit. *πρόσθε* (Stadtmüller) or, better, *πρόσθ' ὅ* is possible; Headlam compares *E. Or.* 799 *ἀλλ' ἐπειγ'*, *ὡς μή σε πρόσθε ψῆφος Ἀργείων ἔλῃ*.

*τάπης*: might mean 'carpet', but 'bed-cover' is more likely (as, e.g., *Od.* 10. 12 *εὐδουσ' ἐν τε τάπησι καὶ ἐν τρητοῖσι λέχεσσι*).

45. *τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο*: 'as the saying is'. This and similar expressions, such as *τὸ σὸν δὴ τοῦτο*, *τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο*, are exemplified by Headlam here; cf. also Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 550, Denniston 235. They may be used adverbially or as object, but never as subject. A saying about cover and booty is otherwise unknown; it may have referred to such a situation, or B. may be making a crude adaptation.

46. The clerk begins to read the law, but after the first clause B. interrupts and gives the rest himself (*φησί* 51 and *ἐνειμε* 54 show that the clerk is not reading there); the *paragraphos* in P after 54 is either mistaken or marks the end of the law, not of a speech.

*αἰκίζη*: cf. on 41 *αἰκείης*. The active of this verb is used also by Hom. and S.

47. *ἔλκων ἐπίσπηι*: 'pulls her about and belabours her'. For *ἔλκων* cf. 71 and for *ἐπίσπηι* *Il.* 11. 197 *ὡς τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδης ἔφερε*, *Hdt.* 1. 73. 4 *αὐτοὺς . . . ὁ Κναζάρης . . . τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείη*. When *ἐπίσπηι* is thus correctly understood with Groeneboom, the *ἔκων* of P gives no sense (how could one do this *ἔκων*? In *D.* 21. 43 *ἂν μὲν ἔκων τις βλάβῃ, διπλοῦν, ἂν δ' ἄκων, ἀπλοῦν τὸ βλάβος κελεύουσιν* the much greater generality of *βλάπτειν* makes it possible), and *ἔλκων* is an easy correction. Most edd., notably Headlam, take *ἐπίσπηι* = 'follow'; but Hsch. *ε* 4456 *ἐπέσ(π)εν· ἡκολούθησεν* and *ε* 3786 *ἐφέπ[τ]ειν· ἐπακολουθεῖν* are insufficient evidence to prove this sense for the act., and merely following someone is not a serious offence (in passages like *Men. Fr.* 382 following is only one action in a series; and in the law quoted by Aeschin. 1. 139 *δοῦλον ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς μήτ' ἐρᾶν μήτ' ἐπακολουθεῖν*, the fact that a slave is the subject makes a difference)

and is not relevant here. Tucker and Meister read ἐπισπῆ (from ἐπισπᾶν), but all the other conditional clauses in the law have an aor.

τῆς δίκης τὸ τίμημα: the penalty fixed for the δίκη αἰκείης.

48. διπλοῦν: the concept of a fine being doubled in certain circumstances was familiar in Greek law. Cf. D. 21. 43 quoted above, Lys. 1. 32 εἰδὲν δὲ τις ἀνθρώπον ἐλεύθερον ἢ παῖδα αἰσχύνῃ βίαι, διπλὴν τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλειν. The condition here must lie in ἐλεύθερος . . . δούλην, and the passage of Lys. suggests that Hds. is humorously inverting the facts of real life.

ταῦτ' ἔγραψε κτλ.: cf. Hyp. Dem. col. 1 ἔγραψεν δὲ αὐτὰ (the ψηφίσματα which condemn Demosthenes) οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς οὗτος.

Χαιρώνδης: Charondas was the author of the law-code of Katana and other cities in Magna Graecia; some of his laws are preserved in Stob. 4. 2. 24; see M. Mühl, *Klio* xxii (1929), 105 sqq., 432 sqq. He is not known to have had any influence in Kos, and B. may be using his name as a typical lawgiver (F. E. Adcock, *Cambr. Hist. Journ.* ii [1927], 95). The form with Χαιρ- is given by the MSS. of Stob. l.c., and may be a genuine alternative (Herzog) and not, as is generally thought, an attempt at Ionicization by Hds.

50. μετελθεῖν: cf. Antipho 1. 10 ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως μετέρχομαι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρός, Lycurg. 116 ἐκείνοι μὲν τοὺς λόγῳ μόνον τῶι προδότῃ βοηθήσαντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις τιμωρίαις μετῆλθον.

κόψη: κόπτειν θύραν normally is 'to knock at the door' but B. clearly means a much more violent action. Cf. 1. 1 n.

51. τινέτω: with ῑ, as in 54. 3. 46, the Homeric scansion.

52. πάλι: a variant of πάλιν (stem as against accus.), found in pre-Hellenistic times only in the compound \*παλι-φίωξις > παλίωξις. It is generally used *metri gratia* (e.g. Call. *Epigr.* 10. 2), here in order to lighten the group νμν. Cf. Pisani.

53. ὄρους: ὄρος is the stone marking the boundary between two areas of land (e.g. Il. 21. 405 τὸν [λίθον] ῥ' ἀνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης), hence the abstract boundary itself (e.g. Hdt. 1. 72. 2 ὁ γὰρ οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός); in the plur. when all the boundaries of an area are in question (e.g. A. *Pr.* 666 ἀλᾶσθαι γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὄροις) or when a road is marked out (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1154); it is possible to say ὄρος (τοῦ) ἱεροῦ (*IG* 12. 855-8, on actual boundary-stones; cf. *LSJ* s.v. II c) because ἱερὸν is not a building but an area of consecrated ground. The extension to the walls of a house is apparently unparalleled, but not too difficult. Richards and Stadtmüller independently conjectured οὐδοῦς, which is easy and attractive at first sight; but the plur. is difficult to explain (unless influenced by οἰκία—which as usual denotes one building).



χιλίας: sc. δραχμάς.

54. διπλόον τίνειν: sc. ἔνειμε, 'he laid down a double payment'. The infin. functions like the accus. of any other noun (Schwyzer ii. 365) and is combined with such an accus. as in 3. 27-8. Not infin. = 3rd pers. imp. (Nairn), because that construction is normally closely preceded by an imp. (Schwyzer ii. 382; 51 τινέτω is too far away).

55-9. Charondas was a civilized man, which Th. is not. A πόλις is the site of civilization and law (Diogenian. 2. 47 ἀγρός ἡ πόλις· ἐπὶ τῶν παρανομούντων. Ἐπίχαρμος [169] "ἀγρόν τὰν πόλιν ποιεῖς"): Th. lives in outlandish places, where these are unknown. Cf. Men. *Asp.* 117-18 οὗτος οὔτε συγγενῇ οὔτε φίλον οἶδεν.

55. Θάλης: for the accentuation (Blass, *Θαλῆς* vulg.) see Schmidt 61, 92.

οἶσθας: this form (with *s* added to the original οἶσθα to make it look more like a 2nd pers.) was read in Hom. by Zenod. and appears occasionally in Att. comedy (Cratin. 105, Alex. 15. 11, Men. *Epit.* 305, *Fr.* 286. 5; always metrically necessary). Similar are ἦσθας (Hom. according to Zenod., Men.) and οἶδας (Ion.). Meister and Groeneboom claim that the final *s* here is due to a second hand, but this does not seem to be the case.

56. πῶς: 28 n.

διοικεῖται: 'is administered'. The play with ὤκει is untranslatable.

57. Βρικινδήροις: a port in Rhodes, which, after the συνοικισμός of that island in 408 B.C., was a κτοίνα of Kamiros. For the various spellings (*υ* for the first *ι* and *γ* for *κ* are found) see W. Schulze *Kl. Schr.* 414-17, who shows that the proper quantity of the ending is -ᾱρα: here therefore Hds. has assimilated it to Ἀβδήροις in 58. That the name had a barbaric ring is shown by Lync. *apud* Ath. 652 d, who speaks of τὰς Βριγινδαρίδας (ἰσχάδας) τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι βαρβαρίζουσας, ταῖς δ' ἡδοναῖς οὐδέν ἤττον ἐκείνων (χελιδονίων) ἀττικίζούσας.

58. Ἀβδήροιςιν: the inhabitants of this prosperous city in Thrace, although including Protagoras and Demokritos, had a reputation for dullness (Mayor on Juv. 10. 50). This is not mentioned explicitly by any writer before Cicero, but seems to be implied here. The opinion of Wilamowitz, *SuS* 256, that Hds. chooses Ἀβδηρα merely to rhyme with Βρικίνδηρα cannot be correct: see on 57.

59. ναῦλον: 'passage-money', used both of passengers (Ar. *Ra.* 270 [Charon to Dionysos] ἀπόδος τὸν ναῦλον) and of freight (D. 49. 26 τὸ ναῦλον τῶν ξύλων); presumably the former here.

δίδοι: subj., for δίδωμι, by analogy with verbs in -όω (δίδοι, indic., for δίδωσι, has a rather different explanation, see Schwyzer i. 687-8). It is used by Hdt. (2. 13. 2; therefore not purely Hellenistic, as Schwyzer i. 793 says) and in the κοινή ([Men.] *Fr.* 714 Kock; Mayser, *Gr. d. Pap.* i<sup>2</sup>. 2. 86 sq.; Blass-Debrunner, *Gr. d. neutest. Gr.*<sup>10</sup> 59).

**Φασηλίδα:** a city on the coast of Lycia, whose citizens, according to Stratonikos ὁ καθαριστής (*apud* Clearch. 31) were οἱ μοχθηρότατοι in the area (though not in the whole world, that distinction being reserved for those of Side), where citizenship could be bought for a mina (Macar. 8. 26), and which at a later date was a hotbed of pirates (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 21). Call. mentioned a sacrifice practised there in his *Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα* (*Fr.* 405).

**πλώσῃ:** from πλώ(φ)ω, a by-form of πλέ(φ)ω, used in epic and by Hdt. and occasionally elsewhere. (Hippon. 77. 3 ]επλωωσεν[ can have nothing to do with this verb.)

60–5. B., after his abusive digression, draws his conclusion from the citation of the laws: he has suffered everything for which a penalty is laid down.

60. ὅπως ἂν with the subj. in a final sentence occurs only here in Hds. (ὅπως alone with subj. in 3. 96, 6. 84, 7. 128). Unlike ὥς ἂν with subj. (not used by Hds.) it is a predominantly Att. construction, though used occasionally by Hdt. (P. Weber, *Absichtssätze* ii. 97–100).

61. τῇ παροιμίῃ: 'by my digression'. This, the literal sense of the word, is found elsewhere only in Συν. λέξ. χρῆσ. (Σ<sup>a</sup>, Suda, Phot.) π.: . . . καταχρηστικῶς δὲ πᾶν τὸ παροδικὸν διήγημα. So Rutherford, Meister, Headlam, and Groeneboom. Other edd. try, unsuccessfully, to avoid recognizing it. Thus Crusius takes it in the normal sense of 'proverb', and points out the nice touch of B.'s immediately using a proverb; but B. has not used a proverb before this since 44–5 (the cities mentioned in 57–9 are, it is true, 'proverbial' for barbarity, but B.'s references to them do not constitute a proverb); the plur. τῆς παροιμίας (conjectured but rejected by Blass, approved by Knox) is no better. Kaibel and Nairn think B. foolishly supposes μακρηγορέων τρύχω to be a proverb; but, granted that B. is capable of this, to take the dat. to be equal to κατὰ τὴν παροιμίην is improbably forced. Cataudella takes it in this sense with πέπονθα κτλ., adding an improbable word-order to the improbable sense. Conjectures: τῇ περισσειῇ Puccioni, redundant after μακρηγορέων; τῷ προοίμῳ Galiano and Gil, but even B. surely knows that he is long past the προοίμιον.

62. πρὸς: 'at the hands of', cf. Hdt. 1. 73. 5 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρεω παθόντες.

62–3. ὅσσα κῆμ πίσσει μῦς: B. adapts the proverb ἄρτι μῦς πίσεως γεύεται (quoted by [D.] 50. 26 and substantially by Theoc. 14. 51), which derived from a story of a mouse being trapped in pitch and dying, and was used ἐπὶ τῶν νεωστὶ πείραν τῶν κακῶν λαμβανόντων (Diogenian. 2. 64). B. however does not remember this: he knows only that the mouse suffered much, as he himself had. The apparent incongruity between the situation of the mouse and that of B. led some ancient paroemiographer, followed by a few moderns, to invent

a story about a boxer *Mūs* who fought in the Olympic games, at *Πίσσα*; this is irrelevant to Hds.

κήμ: i.e. καὶ ἐν.

κατήρακται: 1. 1 n.

64. τῆς τελέω τρίτην μισθόν: 'for which I pay a third in rent'. With *τρίτην* sc. *μοῖραν* (as P wrote at first) or *μερίδα*; this seems to mean that B. pays a third of the value of the house as rent (cf. *τόκοι ἐπίτριτοι*, interest at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent), a very high figure, partly explicable by the nature of B.'s occupation, which exposed the house to hazards such as are described here, partly perhaps exaggerated by B. to show his poverty. Headlam's 'a third of my profits' is unlikely: the rent would not be a varying and indeterminate figure like that.

65. τὰ ὑπέρθυρα: sc. τῆς οἰκίης μεν. If the lintel was burned away, the door could more easily be pushed in. Cf. *Carm. Pop.* 2 (848). 14 (if we are refused) ἢ τὰν θύραν φέρωμες ἢ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον.

ὀπτά: like a piece of meat or a loaf!

65-78. B. produces his evidence, and is no mere affidavit of an eyewitness or inventory of damage: Myrtale (cf. 1. 89 n.), the object of Th.'s affection, appears in person and displays her 'injuries'. In similar fashion Hyp. was said (on the doubtful authority of Hermipp. Hist. 66) to have displayed Phryne in his defence of that *εταίρα*. (Most edd. regard this passage as parody of Hyp., but that goes too far; B.'s action has some justification, but Hyp.'s was a blatant appeal to the emotions of the jury, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦννε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν αἱ δικάσται καταψηφιοῦμενοι.)

66. μηδέν: so Herzog and later edd.; marginally better than *μηδέν* (either construction is of course possible).

67-8. 'Imagine that you are looking at your fathers, your brothers, in these gentlemen whom you see on the jury.' B.'s impudence reaches new heights. Cf. *Andoc.* 1. 149 ὑμεῖς τοίνυν καὶ ἀντὶ πατρὸς ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀντὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀντὶ παίδων γένεσθε.

πατέρας ἀδελφούς: she has of course only one father; the plur. stands partly by attraction to the surrounding ones, partly as a type of the general and rhetorical plur. described by E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 38 (e.g. *φίλοι, τεκόντες*). The asyndeton enhances the solemnity; cf. *ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν* S. *Ant.* 1079, Ar. *Ra.* 157, and in general Denniston, *Gr. Prose Style* 100 sqq. I doubt however whether the tribrach adds to this (according to Nairn it shows that B.'s voice quivers with emotion; Groeneboom thinks tragic parody, comparing Jebb on S. *El.* 1361); if Hds. wished to say this he could hardly avoid a tribrach, and in the other cases of a tribrach in the first foot (5. 64, 6. 52, 8. 71) there is no observable emotion.

68-70. 'See, gentlemen, her plucked skin, below and above, how smooth this innocent has plucked it.' The impudence in the lines was

seen by A. E. Housman, *CR* xxxvi (1922), 109: any *πορνή* would be *παρατετιλμένη* (e.g. in *Ar. Ra.* 516 Xanthias is offered *ὄρχηστρίδες ἄρτι παρατετιλμέναι*), but B. dares to attribute this state in Myrtale to Th.'s violence. *τίλλω* is normally used of plucking hair from the head, *παρατίλλω* of plucking it from other parts of the body, but the simple verb is used as here by *Ar. Nu.* 1083. *τίλματα* must be concrete because of *αὐτῆς*, 'that from which the hair is plucked': *nomen rei actae* from *τίλλω* used as in *Eub.* 150. 5 *τίλλειν τε φάττας καὶ κίχλας*. *λεῖα* is predicative; used of hairless skin by *Strat. AP* 12. 13. 1. Headlam misunderstood the lines completely, taking them of the rending of Myrtale's clothes: but *τίλλω* does not mean this, and *λεῖα* would have no sense. Meister, with perverse ingenuity, took *λεῖα* = *λείως* 'completely' (*Archil.* 163); D. Mervyn Jones, *CR* n.s. ii (1952), 157, conjectures *λεπτά*, which is no improvement.

*ὠναγής*: i.e. *ὁ ἀναγής*, 'he who is not subject to *ἄγος*, divine punishment', i.e. 'pure': B. is sarcastic. So Bücheler; compare P. Chantraine and O. Masson, *Festschr. A. Debrunner* 91, who defend the MS. reading in *Hsch.* α 4227 *ἀναγής· καθαρός (<μῆ) κ.* Schrevel and edd.). For 'good' meaning in negat. compounds see A. C. Moorhouse, *Stud. in the Gr. Negat.* 61 sqq.; *an-agas-* in Sanskrit means 'sinless'. Most edd. (and *LSJ*) repeat the other explanation of *Hsch.* α 4222 *ἀναγής· ὁ ἐναγής ἢ βέβηλος*, but this is linguistically impossible (hence must be abandoned the suggestion of Krakert and Groeneboom that the *impurus leno* turns his standing epithet on his adversary).

71. *εἰλκεν*: the suggestion of rape inherent in the word in such contexts (Leaf on *Il.* 6. 465) is reinforced by *ἐβιάζετο*. Cf. *E. Tr.* 70 *Αἴας εἰλκε Κασσάνδραν βίαι*.

*ὦ γῆρας*: in his anguished indignation B. addresses personified old age. So in *E. Supr.* 1108 Iphis exclaims *ὦ δυσπάλαιστον γῆρας, ὡς μισῶ σ' ἔχων*, and in *Men. Fr.* 644 an unknown person reflects *ὦ γῆρας βαρύν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, δυσχερῇ δὲ πόλλ' ἔχεις τοῖς ζῶσι καὶ λυπηρά*. Cf. West on *Hes. Th.* 225.

72. *σοὶ θυέτω*: 'he should give thanks to you'. Cf. 6. 10. The personified abstraction has something of the nature of a god (cf. Dodds on *E. Ba.* 370-2), so that it can be sacrificed to: but this should not be pressed, as in 6. 10 the object is a person, so that the expression has come to mean merely 'be thankful to'.

*ἐπεὶ τὸ αἶμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν*: 'since [if I had not been old] he would have breathed out his blood'. The phrase is used of one whose lungs or windpipe have been invaded by blood as the result of a wound (e.g. *S. Aj.* 918 *φυσῶντ' ἄνω πρὸς ῥίνας ἔκ τε φοινίας πληγῆς μελανθὲν αἶμα*). Ellipse is frequent in such sentences: in a similar context the chorus of old men in *E. Her.* 268-70 say *ὦ δεξιὰ χεῖρ, ὡς ποθεῖς λαβεῖν δόρν, ἐν δ' ἀσθενεῖαι τὸν πόθον διώλεσας· ἐπεὶ σ' ἔπαυσ' ἂν δοῦλον ἐννέποντά με κτλ.*;

further exx. in Headlam-Knox here and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1375; Engl. requires at least 'otherwise'.

73. This is apparently an allusion to the proverb τὸν ἐν Σάμῳ κομήτην ([Plu.] *Prov.* 2. 8 Σάμιός τις ἐγένετο πύκτης ὃς ἐπὶ μαλακίαι σκωπτόμενος ἐπειδὴ κόμας εἶχεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, συμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησεν). B. identifies himself with the maligned boxer (whose name is sometimes given as Pythagoras, and whom some thought to be the philosopher) and Th. with the surprised opponent. The latter's name is not elsewhere mentioned (in fact the sources use the plur.), and is doubtful here: Blass's reading of P seems the best, but whether Φίλιππος or Φίλιστος is correct cannot be determined.

†βρεγκος is even more obscure. Danielsson and Crusius thought it a variant of βρίγκος, but even if this could be justified linguistically, it is hard to see why the name of an obscure fish should be applied to a boxer. The same applies to the other creatures whose names have been introduced by conjecture: βρένθος Rutherford, βρεῦκος or βροῦκος Headlam. Given Hds.'s partiality for names, I should expect this to be the boxer's father, i.e. ὁ Βρεγκός, from an unknown Βρέγξ; Crusius's objection to this, 'Βρεγκός (a \*Βρέγξ) legi nequit, nam huius cliseos unum λύγξ exemplum noverant grammatici (Herodian. II p. 758 L.)', is not conclusive. However the reason for the use of such a name would still be unknown; one would expect something pejorative.

74-8. The audience laugh at the suggestion that a πορνοβοσκός and κίναϊδος, even in his youth, could have had the strength to do this, being naturally weak and effeminate. B. is indignant: he admits his character, and that of his forebears, but still maintains his strength.

74. οὐκ ἀπαρνεύμαι: B. makes a boast out of what most people would be ashamed of. Cf. A. *Pr.* 266 ἐκὼν ἐκὼν ἡμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι.

75. Βάτταρος: the name is clearly connected with βατταρίζειν 'stammer' (used by Hippon. 140), and possibly also with Βάτ(τ)αλος, which, according to Aeschin. 1. 131, was a nickname of Demosthenes ἐξ ἀνανδρίας τινὸς καὶ κιναιδείας, and which was the name of an Ephesian αὐλητῆς, ὃς πρῶτος ὑποδήμασι γυναικείοις ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐχρήσατο (Lib. *vita Dem.* 3). Cf. Βατάλη 4. 35, Βατυλλίς 5. 70.

76. Σισυμβρᾶς and Σισυμβρίσκος are derived from σισύμβριον, the name of a type of mint. Flower-names are frequently borne by ἑταῖραι (cf. 1. 89 n.; Σισύμβριον Theophil. 11), and hence imply effeminacy in men. Anaxil. wrote a Ὑάκινθος πορνοβοσκός.

77. κῆπορνοβόσκευν πάντες: professions, however disreputable, tend to run in families: so Ar. *Av.* 1451 παππῶιος ὁ βίος συκοφαντεῖν ἐστὶ μοι, and a great dynasty of parasites in Plaut. *Pers.* 53 sqq.

ἐκῆτ' ἀλκῆς: 'as far as strength is concerned'. ἐκῆτι, originally 'by will of' (ἐκὼν), was later equated with ἐνεκα 'on account of' and later still with ἐνεκα 'as far as concerns' (cf. M. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*

254 sqq., whose division of the exx. among the meanings is however not altogether correct). As here, e.g. A. *Ch.* 996 τόλμης ἔκατι.

78. θαρσέων: 'boldly, confidently', as, e.g., S. *OC* 490-1 καὶ ταῦτά σοι δρᾶσαντι θαρσῶν ἂν παρασταίην ἐγώ.

In the following words Bücheler's supplement (often wrongly attributed to Kaibel) fits the traces reasonably well and gives good sense: B. would be another Herakles, strangling the Nemean lion (*Theoc.* 25. 166 etc.). It does not however explain the suprascript  $\theta$ : supplements which attempt to do this (ἐλοιμ' Palmer, ἔλλοιμ' Knoch) give inferior sense.

εἰ Θαλῆς εἴη: B., having been carried away by his own enthusiasm, comes down to earth: he would strangle a lion—if it were Th.! P has IH1, with false iota as 1. 82, 4. 50: this is no justification for reading εἴη (subj. of εἴμι! so Crusius *olim*, 'si Th. me adeat') or εἴην (Rutherford; the sense is feeble). (Meister claimed that P has IC1, i.e. εἴσι, not IH1, because H is never joined to the following letter: but it is not in fact so joined here—he mistook a fibre for ink.)

79-83. B. turns to Th. and sets out the condition for his getting Myrtale—payment. His indignation at Th.'s treatment of her is revealed as quite false.

79. σὺ: suprascript in P. CΥ would easily be omitted between C and M; it is necessary (1) because of the contrast with ἐγώ in 80 (Meister thought that the contrast was introduced unexpectedly, but there would be no reason for μέν if B. had intended to say 'you love her, therefore you must pay'), and (2) because ἱ in the adv. ἵσως is apparently unattested.

οὐδέν δεινόν: 'nothing strange in that'. So E. *Hipp.* 439 ἐρᾶις—τί τοῦτο θαῦμα; This is clearly better than Groeneboom's 'cela n'a pas d'importance, ne signifie rien'.

80. ἐγὼ δὲ πυρέων: B. is in love with his food; cf. *Theoc.* 14. 7 ΑΙ. ἦρατο μὰν καὶ τῆνος; ΘΥ. ἐμὴν δοκεῖ, ὅπτῳ ἀλεύρω. πυρέων is a hyper-ionicism (in  $\bar{a}$ -stem words, -ᾶων > -έων in Ion., -ᾶων in Att., but in  $\sigma$ -stem words -ων is the universal form); similarly from a consonant stem χειρέων 6. 11, 7. 3. These and other false forms are presumably due to Hds. himself: his copyists removed Ion. forms rather than introduced them. Meister's πυρέων from \*πύρη, 'Geldstück', is typical of his desire to make Hds. write good Ion. and of his ingenuity; it cannot be right, as it robs ἦ (81) of all force.

ταῦτα δούς ἐκεῖν' ἔξεις: according to the proverb ἄμα δίδου καὶ λάμβανε, adapted also in *Com. Adesp.* 108 πάντα ποιῶ πρὸς τὸ δούς τι καὶ λαβεῖν, referring to the relationship between a farmer and the earth (but probably not in *Epich.* 273: see Burnet's text of [Pl.] *Ax.* 366 c). ἐκεῖν(ο), sc. τὸ Μυρτάλης ἐρᾶν.

81. νῆ Δί: Hds. elsewhere has ναί, not νή, in oaths. νή in fact seems

to be purely Att., and indeed almost confined to comedy and prose; *ναί* in oaths on the other hand, except in the combination *ναί μά*, is non-Att. (Ar. *V.* 1438 is spoken by ἡ *Συβαρίτης*, *Ach.* 867, 905 by the Boeotian, X. *HG* 4. 4. 10 by a Lacedaemonian; E. *Ba.* 534 is lyric). Meister therefore reads *ναί* here; but I am not sure that Hds. could not have used the Att. expression, especially in so common a phrase as *νῆ Δία*.

εἴ σευ θάλπεται τι τῶν ἔνδον: 'if any of your innards are heated', sc. ἔρωτι, as S. *Fr.* 474 θάλπεται μὲν αὐτός, ἐξοπτᾷ δ' ἐμέ. τὰ ἔνδον, 'what is inside one's body', as Ael. *NA* 1. 30, 4. 52 (both of an internal part of an animal), Hp. *Aph.* 4. 47 (τὰ ἐντός is much more frequent); similarly E. *Or.* 1514 δειλιάι γλώσσηι χαρίζηι, τᾶνδον οὐχ οὕτω φρονῶν. Mazon's σ' εἶ, with θάλπεται middle and τι τῶν ἔνδον 'any of my possessions' subject, gives a most unlikely expression.

82. ἔμβυσσον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα: cf. Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 14 παραβύσαντα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν (of giving a tip unobtrusively).

Βατταρίωι: if the diminutive is correct, B. adopts a wheedling tone. The resolution is perhaps possible in a name, cf. 4. 72; or both these may be exx. of synizesis (cf. Il. 2. 537 Ἰστιαίαν, and, with caution, L. Radermacher, *SBWien* 1912, 9. Abh., *Philol.* lxxxiv [1929], 257-9). But *Βαττάρωι* may be right (the deleted ι after *τιμὴν* may as Crusius suggested be due to a misunderstood deletion here).

τιμὴν: 'the price'. Th. may buy her if he wishes.

83. τὰ σαυτοῦ: many edd. read τὰ σ(ἀ) αὐτοῦ (as in Od. 14. 185 etc.) because of the comma (deleted) in P; but it seems unlikely that Hds. intended this.

Θλή: the normal meaning 'bruise' is no doubt the main one here, but 'have intercourse with' is at least hinted at; cf. Hsch. ε 7501 ἐφλα... συνεμίσγετο, συνῆν (φλάω and θλάω are the same word, cf. Schwyzler i. 302 h); 'bash' in Engl. slang shows the same development.

84-6. B. turns back to the jury and commences his final plea, which is soon interrupted.

84. ἐν δ' ἐστίν: 'there is one thing (which I have still to mention)'. This is clearly what the corrector wished to read; cf. E. *Ph.* 766 ἐν δ' ἐστίν ἡμῖν ἀργόν. Naturally ἐτι occurs frequently in such phrases, but that is no reason to force it in here (ἐστ' ἐτ' Rutherford). I do not see the point of ἐνεστιν (Crusius).

μὲν: the antithesis τὰδε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς is not expressed; cf. Denniston 381 foot.

85. δ': one would expect asyndeton or γάρ, as this clause explains ἐν δ' ἐστίν. But after the parenthesis δέ may stand with a slight logical anacoluthon; μὲν may also have had a logically unjustifiable influence. Herwerden deleted the particle.

ἀμαρτύρων εὖντων: in impersonal absolute constructions the accus.

is normal, the genit. occasional; with an adj. and ὄντων also Hdt. 7. 37. 2 ἐπινεφέλων ὄ., Th. 1. 7 πλωιμωτέρων ὄ., 4. 20. 2 ἔτι ὄ. ἀκρίτων (KG ii. 88, 82; more exx. in Headlam here). The case is without μάρτυρες despite the presence of Myrtale, who did not give spoken evidence.

86. γνώμη δικαίη: dicasts swore to judge γνώμη τῇ ἀρίστη (Arist. Rh. 1375<sup>a</sup>29), and orators frequently remind them of this, especially when the case is not covered by a specific law (e.g. D. 20. 118, 39. 40): B. varies this slightly—here there are laws, but no witnesses.

δισαίτατε: δισαίτῶν is strictly 'to arbitrate', and describes a different procedure from 'to judge', κρίνειν, δικάζειν. Hds. substitutes the less common word (κρίσιν κρίνειν Pl. R. 360 e, κ. διαδικάζειν id. Lg. 876 b); so Theoc. 12. 34 uses δισαίτῶν of judging a contest.

87-91. His mention of the lack of witnesses makes B. think of the possibility of his slaves' giving evidence, after torture according to the Greek rules of evidence. However he is diverted from this idea to the preposterous one of being tortured himself. His reason seems simply to be a desire to enhance the importance of his offer and to make some money, whatever the cost, rather than a reversion to his 'atavistische Sklavensinn' (Herzog), of which there is no other evidence.

87. οἶον: 'only', if he insists on evidence. The word is Ion.; adverbial also in Hes. Th. 26 γαστέρες οἶον, A. Ag. 131 οἶον μὴ . . . Many edd. understand it as οἶον, some as 'as it were' (which is nonsensical), others as 'only' (which is perverse; Hsch. ο 365 οἶον· ὁποῖον, μόνον, τρόπον τινά, δυνατόν, καθάπερ is a confusion of οἶον and οἶον).

ἐς τὰ δοῦλα σώματα σπεύδει: 'is eager for the bodies of slaves'. σώματα is literal: it is their bodies which will be tortured; its use as 'person' (LSJ s.v. II 2) is irrelevant.

88. αἰτῇ: sc. δοῦλα σώματα. The orators regularly use ἐξαιτεῖν, and παρα- or ἐκδιδόναι. Poetry as often reverts to the simple verb.

89. στρέβλου: 'stretch', either on a rack, κλῖμαξ (Ar. Ra. 620), or on a wheel, τρόχος (Ar. Lys. 846); the precise means unexpressed also in Ar. Nu. 620.

ἢ τιμή: if the charge which led to the torture of a slave were found untrue, the accuser had to pay the value of the slave, to compensate for the damage done by the torture (D. 37. 40, [D.] 59. 124). B., supremely confident, wishes the money to be ready.

90-1. 'If Minos had been judging this case with his scales, he could not have decided it better (than it will be decided by these means).' Minos, a great νομοθέτης when alive, in Hades judged disputes between the dead (Od. 11. 568 sqq.) and judged the dead in general (Pl. Ap. 41 a, Grg. 523 e, etc.). B. mentions him only as a notable judge.



τρυάνη: Minos, like Zeus (*h. Merc.* 324) and Δίκη (B. 17. 25), has his scales to weigh the issues.

βέλτιον: 1. 87 n.

διήτησε: 86 n. Here again *variatio*.

92-102. B. finally comes to his peroration: the issue is of importance to all non-citizens, the reputation of Kos is at stake, therefore decide justly.

92-4. Attempts to widen the importance of a case are naturally frequent in the orators: e.g. D. 21. 7 ἐπιδείξω Μειδίαν τουτονὶ μὴ μόνον εἰς ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς [καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους] καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὕβρικότα, Din. 3. 11 ὑπὲρ πάσης, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας νῦν μέλλετε φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον, Lys. 28. 10 ἐνθυμείσθε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι οὐκ Ἐργοκλῆς μόνος κρίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πόλις ὅλη.

93. φέρειν: the jurymen literally carried his literal ψῆφος to the container, but here the word is purely metaphorical, as in 'cast one's vote'.

95-7. Encouragement to contemporaries to live up to the glories, legendary or historical, of the past is also commonplace: e.g. D. 18. 208 and the various ἐπιτάφιοι. The first three legends are referred to also in [Hp.] Ep. 9. 1 Κῶιοι οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον πρήξουσιν οὔτε Μέροπος οὔτε Ἡρακλέος οὔτε Ἀσκληπίου (1st cent. A.D.; see H. Diels, *Hermes* liii [1918], 81 sqq.); possibly therefore a local traditional expression.

95. ἡ Κῶς κῶ Μέροψ: the original inhabitants of Kos were known, for whatever reason, as Μέροπες, and from this was derived a King Merops with a daughter Kos, who were supposed to be eponyms. See Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* i. 144; Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. Cos* pp. xix-xx; Allen-Sykes-Halliday on *h. Ap.* 42.

δραίνει: 1. 15 n. Kos and Merops are so closely connected that they are regarded as a unity and have a singular verb; so 96, 4. 6, Theoc. 1. 39 γριπεὺς τε γέρων πέτρα τε τέτυκται λεπράς.

96. Θεσσαλός, Ἡρακλῆς: Herakles was driven to Kos by a storm on his return from Troy, was attacked by the inhabitants, killed the king Eurypylos, and by his daughter begat Thessalos (Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. Cos* p. xiii).

97. Τρίκης: this Thessalian town was generally regarded as the ultimate origin of the cult of Asklepios; its extension however was largely through Epidauros. Some have thought that this verse reflects Koan insistence on the direct relationship of Kos and Triikka and its jealous independence of Epidauros; but that does not seem necessary. See also 4. 1-2 n.

98. Kos as the birthplace of Leto is mentioned also by Tac. *Ann.* 12. 61, where it is one of the reasons put forward why the island should have *immunitas*. Leto's father was Κοῖος (Hes. *Th.* 404): some Koan

patriot has equated this with *Κῶιος*. According to Hecat. Abd. 2 she was born among the Hyperboreans.

**Λητοῦν**: this form of the accus. of *-ῶ* nouns is Ion. (*Κυψοῦν* Hippon. 129) and *κοινή*, a new formation to give the characteristic *-ν* of the accus.

**ᾧδε**: 'here', as in 3. 96. Possibly Hds. is the earliest author to show this development ('hither' is common from Hom.): Cratin. 54 is said by Phot. to have so used the word, but that is probably an error, see Kock; Theoc. 1. 106-7 are corrupt, see Gow; and I think the same corruption has occurred in id. 5. 45-6.

**99. ὁρθῇ**: = *δικαίῃ* of 86, substituted because of the metaphor in *κυβερνᾶτε*: they are to steer the case in a straight line.

**100-1**. 'As this Phrygian, you will find, will be the better of a beating.' B. adapts the proverbial verse *Φρυγὲς ἀνὴρ πληγεὶς ἀμείνων καὶ διακονέστερος* (ἐπεὶ δοκοῦσιν ἀργότεροι καὶ νωχελέστεροι εἶναι οἱ Φρύγες οἰκέται paroem.), used also by Cic. *Flacc.* 65.

**ὥς**: causal. (*ὥς* with the fut. indic. is never final. In *E. Ba.* 784 and *Theoc.* 2. 3 it is causal—Gow on the latter passage exaggerates the detriment to the sense; for *S. OC* 1724 see Jebb; for *D.* 24. 146, 43. 42 see *GMT* p. 110 n. 2.)

**101. ἔσσει**: as in 4. 50 Hds. uses the epic form (Ion. *ἔσται*).

**ψεῦδος**: for some reason *ψευδές* was not used till the Roman period but was replaced by the noun *ψεῦδος*; cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ψεῦδος* III, Headlam here, and Pfeiffer on *Call. Fr.* 288.

**102. ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν**: with *ἡ παροιμία*, 'the saying derived from men of old'; cf. *A. Eu.* 331 ὕμνος ἐξ Ἑρινύων. Others less well take it with *βάζει*, 'from olden times'.

**βάζει**: this epic verb (borrowed by Pi., A., E., and later poets) is normally used with objects like *πεπνυμένα* (*Il.* 9. 58), *νήπια* (*Od.* 18. 168), *μάταια* (*E. Hipp.* 119), to which *τι μὴ ψεῦδος* corresponds closely; cf. 7. 32, *Phoc.* 7 *ψευδέα μὴ βάζειν*. What the corrector intended is uncertain: *βράζει* 'spits up' Knox, who conjectures *κράζει*; *βράζει* = *φράζει*, with Macedonian *β* for *φ*, Puccioni: no suggestion is convincing, and certainly none is an improvement on *βάζει*. Knox's earlier conjecture, that the corrector misread *βίαζι* in the exemplar, is better.

## 3

**SUBJECT**. Metrotime brings her son, Kottalos, to the schoolmaster, Lampriskos, to be punished. She narrates his wickedness at length—he gambles in bad company, neglects his studies, damages the roof, and generally leads a lazy and worthless life. L. agrees that punishment

is necessary and proceeds to inflict it. The boy pleads for mercy, and promises to be good, and he is eventually released. M. claims that he has not had enough, and goes home to fetch fetters to bind him.

**CHARACTERS.** M. is the chief character. She is a formidable figure: her husband, old, deaf, and blind (32), has little say in their household. It is she who pays the bills (10, 46), she who has ambitions for her son (27-8), and she who tries to discipline him. The family is poor and lives in a tenement (47), and this life has made her hard and bitter. She wishes K. to be thoroughly thrashed, and objects to L.'s stopping the beating. She is loquacious, given to long sentences with frequent parentheses.

L. is a lesser figure. He exhibits a cold sarcasm and a somewhat sadistic pleasure in using his strap, which can be found in some schoolmasters in all ages.

K. is the delinquent son. Whether his faults are as grave as M. claims may be doubted. He is a disappointment to her, and she makes the worst of his high spirits and natural rebelliousness.

**PURPOSE.** The portrayal of the angry mother. The title sets the scene only.

**STRUCTURE.** (1) The harangue of M. (1-58), with an elaborate ring-composition, *a b . . . b a*, where *a* is an appeal to L. (1-3, 56-8) and *b* a statement of K.'s misplaced knowledge (8-13, 53-5). (2) The beating of K. (58-97).

**SOURCES.** Schools and schoolmasters appear in literature, and references to corporal punishment are not infrequent: e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 972, Plaut. *Bacch.* 434, Quint. 1. 3. 17 *si minor in eligendis custodum uel praeceptorum moribus fuit cura, pudet dicere in quae probra nefandi homines isto caedendi iure abutantur*; Horace's *Orbilius plagosus* was probably a typical figure. No definite source need be postulated.

M.'s talkativeness recalls similar women in comedy (e.g. Alex. 92), but that is but one feature in her character. The name *Μητρότιμος* occurs in Hippon. 122 (where Masson gives further instances).

**SCENE.** A school, otherwise not localized.

**DATE.** No evidence.

**1. οὕτω:** 'on this condition', the condition being explained by the following imper.; cf. 5. 69, Men. *Epit.* 88 οὕτω τί σοι ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, . . . δός, Pk. 213 οὕτως ὄναιτο, λέγ'. So *sic* in Latin (Fordyce on Catull. 17. 5).

**φίλαι:** of the Muses also in 83, Alex. 161, Theoc. 1. 64, *al.* (certainly not possessive, as Puccioni 'le tue Muse').

2. τῆς ζοῆς τ' ἐπαυρέσθαι: 'and to enjoy life'. 'Sensible people will pray not only for blessings to come [here τι . . . τερπνόν], but also for being allowed the enjoyment of the good that is at present theirs' (Fraenkel on A. Ag. 350, whose illustrations are valid despite his unlikely interpretation of the syntax). For the infin. parallel to a noun cf. 2. 54.

3. κατ' ὤμου: 'down on his shoulder'; cf. D. 19. 197 ξαίνει κατὰ νώτου πολλάς, Theoc. 22. 104 κατ' ὀφρύος ἤλασε πυγμῇ, with Gow's note. Others take as 'suspended on someone's shoulder', cf. 61; but this is impossible Greek (in Headlam's exx. of κατ' ὤμου 'hanging over the shoulder', the shoulder is always that of the subject, which is clearly out of the question here). The same dispute has taken place over *me iubet catomidiari* in Petron. 132. 2, and the same decision seems correct.

4. ἐπὶ χειλέων: the soul in Greek as in many other cultures was thought to leave the body at death along with the last breath (originally ψυχὴ meant 'breath'), therefore just before death it was on the lips or in the nose; hence phrases like the present for 'to be on the point of death'. Cf. Mel. AP 5. 197 βαιὸν ἔχω τό γε λειφθέν, "Ερως, ἐπὶ χεῖλεσι πνεῦμα, Petron. 62. 5 (of a terrified man) *mihi anima in naso esse: stabam tamquam mortuus*.

5-21. She describes the boy's chief vice, gambling.

5. ἐκ . . . πεπόρθηκεν: exx. of tmesis in Hds. fall into four classes. (1) Prep. and verb are separated by an enclitic pron., with or without a connecting particle (with 4. 60, without 3. 85, 4. 49); this is a very old and widespread type, found also with enclitic or postpositive particles, connected with the tendency of enclitics and postpositives to come second in the clause; cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 1215 sq. (2) They are separated by adverbial οὖν (7. 114, 8. 46); see 7. 114 n. (3) They are separated by another class of word, with or without a connecting particle (adj. 3. 18, adv. 4. 29, negat. 4. 93, verb 1. 37 n.). (4) They are separated by several words, the prep. coming at or almost at the beginning of the verse, the verb at the end (3. 5, 4. 18, 7. 12). Of the other writers of choliamb Hippon. has exx. of (1) (25, 47. 2) and (2) (29. 2, 78. 16), Call. has exx. of (1) (*Fr.* 194. 50) and (3) (*Fr.* 195. 29, with a noun). Hds. has gone a little beyond the limits of the old ἱαμβος in the direction of the freedom of the lyric poets, presumably with the idea of heightening his diction.

ἐκπορθεῖν means 'pillage' (with object οἰκίας in Lys. 12. 83): M. in her fury greatly exaggerates.

ταλαίνης: cf. Men. *Epit.* 535 τίς ἄν θεῶν τάλαιναν ἐλέησειε με; Similar exclamatory oblique cases are frequent in Hom. and tragedy.

στέγην: 'house'; this sense in the sing. is found in Hippon. 79. 19, and frequently in tragedy.

The line as a whole is often said, after Crusius, to be tragic parody, but this is scarcely so; even to say that it has a *color tragicus* (Groeneboom) is too much. Rather M. speaks in a very slightly elevated style, befitting her anger and anguish.

6. χαλκίνδα παίζων: playing χαλκισμός, χαλκίζων (used with the same reference in 65). This children's gambling game consisted of spinning a χαλκοῦς (copper coin) and stopping it with the finger so that it stood upright (Poll. 9. 118). χαλκίνδα is otherwise known only from Hsch.; adverbs in -ίνδα were used exclusively of games; a long list is given by Poll. 9. 110-17.

καὶ γάρ: 'for in fact'; Denniston 108.

οὐδέ: emphasizes αἱ ἀστραγάλαι. For the separation cf. Il. 1. 354 νῦν δ' οὐδέ με τυτθὸν ἔτεισεν, Denniston 199.

7. αἱ ἀστραγάλαι: ἀστραγάλη is Ion. for the general ἀστράγαλος. It was read by αἱ πλείους τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα in Il. 23. 88 (where the MSS. have the masc. form) according to Did. (hence probably Ael. Dion. a 190), who quotes also Anacr. 53 (398) (Ath. quotes the masc. in Anacr. 43 (388), and the MSS. of Hdt. have the masc.); it is restored with certainty in Leon. AP 6. 309. 3. This was the dice-game regarded as suitable for children; cf. Starkie on Ar. V. 295.

For the choriamb in the first metron see Appendix III, 7. Attempts to avoid it by supposing an arbitrary lengthening ἀστῤαγάλαι or by scanning αἱ ἀστῤαῖγαλαἱ [Th. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xii (1899), 138] or by supposing a corruption or intrusive gloss—αἱ ἀσταργάλαι Hoffmann, αἱ ἀστραβδάλαι Meerwaldt, αἱ δορκάδες Rutherford, αἱ στορογγύλαι Palmer—are vain: lengthenings in Hom. prove nothing for Hds., prosodic hiatus and resolution of the first *breve* (71 n.) are not found in Hds., and the rare feminine form cannot be corrupt.

8. ὄρμη: sc. τὸ πῤῃγμα, 'the matter is rushing to a greater degree of disaster'. Cf. D. 23. 203 τὸ πῤῃγμα ἤδη καὶ πορρωτέρω βαδίζει. The ellipse is similar to E. Tr. 401 (φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χρὴ πόλεμον ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖ) εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἔλθοι, . . ., Pl. Lg. 839 c εἰς τοῦτο προβέβηκε νῦν ὥστε . . . ὄρμῃ does not seem to be so used elsewhere, but βαδίζειν and χωρεῖν are not uncommon. The subject cannot be the boy, because, as Headlam says, συμφορῆς would then have to refer to him.

κοῦ: the asyndeton is rather harsh, and κοῦ, i.e. καὶ οὐ (Hicks, Weil) has some attraction; but the fact that there is here a verb of saying and not of knowing and that it is negative makes it doubtful (cf. KG ii. 438).

9. γραμματίστω: the elementary teacher (ὁ τὰ πῤῃτα στοιχεῖα διδάσκων Suda γ 422). This must be L.

τρηκάς: the general term for the 30th and last day of the month (ἐνῃ καὶ νέα in Att.), when accounts of all kinds, including school fees, had to be paid.

10. κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω: Nannakos was said to have been a Phrygian king before the time of Deukalion who foresaw the great flood and called his people together to try to assuage the gods with tears (Hermogenes 795 F 2), hence the proverb, adapted here by M., τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσομαι (there was another proverb τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου, used of things of great antiquity: in the text of Zen. 6. 10 as we have it, the two have coalesced, producing nonsense). The name is of a type common in Asia Minor.

11. λήξειε: an unparalleled (unless in 8. 65) 1st aor. of λάσκω, standing to ἔλακον as ἔδηξα to ἔδακον. λάσκω, originally of a crashing or screaming noise, means in some passages of E. (e.g. *Andr.* 671, *IT* 461, parodied in *Ar. Ra.* 97) simply 'speak', 'utter', and so here (cf. G. Björck, *Das Alpha Imperium* 280 sqq.). The obvious correction λέξειε (proposed by half a dozen scholars in 1891 and widely accepted, but not by Meister, Groeneboom, and Puccioni) is unnecessary.

γε μὴν: answering μέν, as, e.g., X. *HG* 6. 3. 1 πολεμεῖν μὲν . . . κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν. Genuine Ion. would be γε μέν, but Hds. has μὴν also in 8. 11 and (protected by metre) in 8. 73. Cf. Denniston 328, 347-8, 386.

παίστην: only here and 64, 'place for playing', 'gambling-den'; from παίζειν, as ὀρχήστρα, παλαίστρα, κονίστρα, etc., from the corresponding verbs.

12. οἰκίζουσιν: 'live', intr. Only here and in Hsch. ο 251 οἰκίζουσιν· οἰκοῦσιν (where Latte says 'I. οικίζονται'; in [Men.] *Mon.* 319 ἦθος κακοῦργον μακρὰν οἰκίζει θεοῦ there is a corruption which may extend to the verb). Herwerden's ὀκλάζουσιν, 'squat', removes the anomaly and gives a vivid picture of the ne'er-do-wells bending over their dice; it may well be right. Attempts to give οἰκίζουσιν an object in παίστην, by taking the construction to be δεῖξαι (τὸν τόπον) ὅκουπερ οἱ. π. (Headlam) or by reading ὅκου παροικίζουσιν (Blass) as an indirect question (in which ὅκουπερ could not be used) strain the sense of παίστην (which must be a permanent location, comparable to the school, and not one which can οἰκίζεσθαι) and are highly unnatural.

προυνεικοί or προυνικοί (the spelling and etymology are uncertain, see Kock, *CAF* iii. 468): originally meaning porters in the ἀγορά, the word acquired connotations of roughness and worthlessness; in D.L. 4. 6 it is coupled with θορυβώδεις.

13. δρηπέται: 'runaway slaves'. The free assume that only wicked slaves would wish to escape.

σάφ' οἶδε κητέρωι δεῖξαι: i.e. he knows it very well indeed. A common form of expression, cf., e.g., D. *Prooem.* 48. 2 πρότερον μὲν ἔγωγε . . . οὐκ ἤιδειν πρὸς τί ποτ' εἶη τοῦτ' εἰρημένον . . . νῦν δὲ κἄν ἄλλον μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι, A.R. 2. 57 δαεῖς δέ κεν ἄλλωι ἐνίσποις.

14. δέλτος: his writing-board, covered with wax. Cf. Hdt. 7. 239. 3, W. Schubart, *Das Buch*<sup>3</sup> 28 sqq.

κάμνω: 'I tire myself out': M. stresses the trouble she goes to.

15. ὀρφανή: 'neglected', as in an epigram quoted by Paus. 1. 13. 3, ὀρφανὰ κείται . . . σκυλα. Hardly 'with no writing on it' (in Pherecr. 22 ὀρφανὸν τάριχον, supposed by Meineke to mean 'without sauce', is doubtful, see Kock).

16. 'Before the bedpost nearest the wall', and therefore well out of sight.

ἐρμῖνος: the post on four of which the frame of the bed sat: Od. 8. 278, 23. 198, *EM* 376. 40 ὁ κλινόπους. A χαμένην in the literal sense (χαμαὶ εὐνή) would have no such posts; it is usually the pallet of soldiers or others sleeping outside (e.g. E. *Rh.* 9, Theoc. 13. 33), and when it is not, denotes a poor and mean couch (A. *Ag.* 1540, where see Fraenkel; in Ar. *Av.* 816 the reference is to the unluxurious Spartans sleeping rough). Hds. seems to have overlooked this. χαμένιον in Hippon. 62.

ἐπὶ: as in ἐπὶ δεξιά and similar phrases.

17-18. 'Except when, looking at it as though it were Hades, writing nothing fair, he scrapes the whole clean.'

ἦν μήκοτ' = πλὴν ὅταν, as in E. *Med.* 30 ὡς δὲ πέτρος ἢ θαλάσσιος κλύδων ἀκούει νοθετουμένη φίλων· ἦν μή ποτε . . . αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν πατέρ' ἀποιμώξῃ φίλον. P has κην; the καί, deleted by Palmer and Blass, has been defended in various ways: (1) by translating 'even if he never go so far as to scrape it clean' (Headlam), but the descriptive details αὐτὴν οἶον Αἶδην βλέψας and γράψῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν are too vivid for this to be merely something he does not do; (2) by translating 'it still lies neglected even if perhaps . . .' (Meister), but Crusius rightly objects that this use of μήποτε is found only in principal sentences, and one may add that this is only natural, considering its origin in an ellipse of ὅρα uel sim., and that it is predominantly a late and prosaic use; (3) by regarding the καί as 'pleonastic', so that the sense is ἦν μήκοτε (Nairn); this is cowardice; (4) by rewriting κην μήκοτ' (or μηκέτ') . . . βλέψῃ, γράψῃ . . . ξύσει (Richards and Tucker); this requires no refutation.

αὐτήν: object of βλέψας, as Call. *Fr.* 194. 101-2 τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδραξ οἶα ταῦρος ἢ δάφνη ἔβλεψε καὶ τὰδ' εἶπε. Some, as Crusius and Headlam, take it with ἐκξύσει and translate οἶον Αἶδην βλέψας 'with Hell, as it were, in his look', comparing Ἄρη βλέπειν, φόβον βλέπειν, and similar expressions: but qualifications like οἶον are not found with them.

Ἄϊδην: Ion. scansion (Semon. 1. 14, 7. 117; see Schmidt 1 sqq.); contrast 1. 32. Hades is an object of fear and repulsion (Il. 9. 158-9 Αἰδῆς τοι ἀμείλιχος ἦδ' ἀδάμαστος· τοῦνεκα καὶ τε βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος πάντων).

γράφῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν: logically a subordinate idea, but expressed paratactically for the sake of the contrast; so, e.g., Pl. *Grg.* 454 b τοιοῦτόν τι . . . ὃ δοκεῖ μὲν δῆλον εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπανερωτῶ, 'some such question which, though it seems obvious, I ask'. This explains οὐδὲν, apparently used irregularly in a conditional clause: the construction is really ἦν . . . οὐδὲν καλὸν γράψας . . . ἐκξύσῃ (οὐδὲν καλὸν cannot be taken together, as Nairn and apparently Headlam do; that would give a positive sense, 'he writes nothing-fair, he writes something foul', but a negative is clearly required).

ἐκξύω: ᾄπ. λεγ. For the tmesis see 5 n.

19. δορκαλίδες: this, as δορκάδες 63 and δορχελοί Hsch. δ 2246, is a colloquial abbreviation for δορκάδαιοι ἀστράγαλοι, dice made from deer-horn. δορκαλὶς elsewhere means 'a deer' and has ἱ (for the variation cf. κεραμὶς with ἱ in Att., ἰ in Ion. and κοινή, and *KB* i. 481; Wilamowitz's scansion εὐνίδας in *A. Pers.* 289 has more support than some have thought).

-δεῖς δε | λι-: this is the only (2. 40 n.) case in Hds. of a dactyl being divided after its second syllable; there is no case of a tribrach being so divided. For -υ | υ in comedy see J. W. White, *Verse of Gr. Com.*, 43, 60.

20. ἐν τῇσι φύσῃσι τοῖς τε δικτύοις: φῦσαι, literally 'bellows', can be used of many objects of similar shape: Dsc. and others use it of the bladder, Dsc. again of the calyx of a flower, and Hsch. gives the meanings φάρετρα and ἀσκός. The latter is closest to what we have here, bags probably of skin. The δίκτυα are probably other containers, small-mesh net-bags; such a sense is otherwise unknown, but a boy can be seen holding such a bag in a terracotta reproduced in the Crusius-Herzog edit., Pl. V; Lat. *reticulum* has a similar development of sense. Hicks thought the boy's father was a smith because of φύσῃσι, conversely Herwerden and Headlam took him to be a fisherman because of δικτύοις: each word renders the other view impossible; and in any case, the dice are not thrown carelessly among other things, like the δέλτος.

21. τῆς ληκύθου: genit. of comparison with λιπαρώτεραι. The hyperbaton induced Richards to transpose 20 and 21, and many cdd. follow him, with no justification: this is an example of the common type in which a genit. and its governing word are separated by adv. phrase and verb, cf. W. Havers, *Indg. Forsch.* xxxi (1912-13), 229 sqq.

τῇ: P originally had τῇν, but, though χρῆσθαι is used with the accus. by Arist. and in the κοινή (*LSJ* s.v. χράω C VI), there is no reason to think it anything but a slip. Elsewhere in Hds. relat. forms with τ- are used *metri causa* (2. 64, 4. 17, 5. 4, 28, 43, 6. 31, 34).

ἐπὶ παντί: 'on every occasion', i.e. constantly. Cf. Thgn. 325 εἴ τις ἀμαρτωλῇσι φίλων ἐπὶ παντὶ χολῶιτο, οὔ ποτ' ἂν ἀλλήλοισ' ἄρθμοι οὐδέ φίλοι εἶεν, Men. *Asp.* 154 βασκαίνειν γὰρ εἰώθασί με ἐπὶ παντί, Theoc.



14. 64 αἰτεῖν δὲ δεῖ οὐκ ἐπὶ παντί. Headlam reads too much into the words in thinking that their poverty is indicated, either because oil is their only condiment or because they use the flask for various purposes: in any Greek household the λήκυθος would be in constant use.

She refers to the proverb λιπαρώτερος ληκυθίου (ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερβολικῶς λιπαρῶν [suppl. Crusius]). His dice are therefore in more constant use than the most over-used λήκυθος.

22-36. He is academically backward (it is implied, though not stated, that this is because he spends his time gambling).

22. ἄλφα συλλαβήν: 'the letter α'. D.T. states that συλλαβή is used καταχρηστικῶς of a single vowel (p. 17. 1 Uhl., cf. sch. pp. 48. 22, 344. 31 Hilg.), and the use is found in other grammarians. ἄλφα is a representative letter also in Call. *Fr.* 191. 88 μαι]θάνοντες οὐδ' ἄλφα, Lucill. *AP* 11. 132 οὐ δύναται ἄλφα γράφειν.

γνῶναι: 'recognize'. Not = ἀναγνῶναι (Meister and Groeneboom), though in effect there is little difference. Cf. Parmeno 1 οὐδὲ κόππα γινώσκων, where there is no question of reading (for κόππα cf. Pfeiffer on Call. *Fr.* 565).

23. ταῦτά: Rutherford wished to have the sing., but the pl. generalizes after the preceding particular, cf. 1. 19.

πεντάκις: cf. 1. 10 n., Men. *Fr.* 303. 2 πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας.

βῶσηι: for the contracted form of βοᾶν, mostly Ion., see Gow on Theoc. 12. 35 (p. 229), who omits to say that it is used by Hdt. P has βωσαι: probably he saw the end of 22 instead of that of this verse; an intentional solecism is out of the question (cf. Schmidt 35 sq.).

24. τριτημέρηι: 'the day before yesterday'. P Atticizes here, but preserves the Ion. form in 6. 21. (Headlam, following Zonar., wrongly claims that the Att. expression would be τρίτην ἡμέραν: ἡμέραι τρίτη itself occurs in Th. 4. 90. 3. The dat. expresses 'einen bestimmten Zeitpunkt', the accus. 'Zeiterstreckung', Schwyzer ii. 158, cf. ib. 70. 5.)

Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος: 'teaching him to spell "Maron"'. The verb is found only here in this sense, but it is implied by γραμματίστης. For the spelling and writing of names in school see Pl. *Chrm.* 161 d. The name Μάρων is chosen at random; it is found in various places, especially in the eastern Aegean and Asia Minor (Hicks); it may have been suggested by the character in Od. 9. 197, frequently mentioned in later literature (there is certainly no reference to Virgil, as Kenyon and Ellis thought; R. J. Walker, in his *Ἀντι Μιᾶς* ii. 378 sqq., accepted this absurd idea and made it even worse by taking Σίμων in 26 to be either St. Peter or a mistake for Σίνων from *Aen.* 2!). There is no evidence that it was the name of a throw at dice, as Headlam suggests; and the following has point even without that refinement. "Μάρων" is absorbed into the construction of the sentence (also in 25 and 26), as frequently.

26. Σίμωνα: this was the name of a throw at dice (Eub. 57. 6, Poll. 7. 205). It may have been a bad throw, named after the ἄρπαξ τῶν δημοσίων of Ar. Nu. 351, who became proverbial (Σίμωνος ἀρπακτικώτερος), but this is immaterial. The boy is so obsessed with gambling that when he hears -ων, he can think only of Σίμων.

οὗτος . . . ὁ χρηστός: ironical, as Pl. *Thl.* 166 a (Protagoras will say, καταφρονῶν ἡμῶν) “οὗτος δὲ ὁ Σωκράτης ὁ χρηστός, . . .”, Men. *Asp.* 75 ὁ δ’ ἡγεμὼν ἡμῶν ὁ χρηστός, etc.

28. γραμμάτων παιδείην: ‘book-learning’. Cf. 35.

29. ‘Thinking that I would have a support for bad times.’ She does not specify what bad times she is thinking of: most edd. say it is her old age, comparing γηροβοσκός, -έω, and certainly in Hds. 1 and 12 old age is something bad. However it need not be so particularized: ἀωρία is any untimely time or circumstance.

30. δὲ δὴ: δὴ added to δέ ‘sharpens a contrast or stresses an addition’ (Denniston 460); here the latter, cf. 36, 8. 18. The addition is further stressed here and in 36 (in 8. 18 the continuation is lost) by καί (Denniston does not recognize a group δὲ δὴ (. . .) καί; καί could, less well, be taken here with ρῆσιν, ‘even a ρ.’, as distinct from something more difficult, and in 36 with μέζον).

ρῆσιν: a continuous speech from some poem (Pl. *R.* 393 b) probably a tragedy, which he had been set to learn by heart (cf. Pl. *Lg.* 811a, Call. *Epigr.* 48).

οἷα παιδίσκον: ‘as one does a youngster’, sc. ἀνώγει ρῆσιν εἰπεῖν. (Wackernagel, *Glotta* ii [1910], 6–8, claimed that παιδίσκος was properly a Laconian word, hence used by X. and Philox. Cyth., and that later writers imitated X.: this line, overlooked by him, shows that the limitation is too severe; further it seems now agreed that the Δεῖπνον is by Philox. of Leukadia, not Philox. of Kythera.)

31. ὁ πατήρ: Herzog thinks this is M.’s father, not her husband and the boy’s father, because she is to be considered a widow from 5, 9, 29, and 46. These passages however are explicable because of her husband’s age and infirmity, and it is much more natural here to understand ‘his father’.

ἀνώγωμεν: the verb is Ion. (borrowed by tragedy from epic); Hds. clearly thought of it as ἀνώγω, not ἄνωγα, cf. ἀνώγουσα 7. 101. A sing. verb is normal when two sing. subjects are separated by (ἦ . . .) ἦ or οὔτε . . . οὔτε, but the pl. is occasionally used ‘to emphasize cumulative action’ (Dale on E. *Alc.* 360). Cf. *KG* i. 81, to whose quotations add (Groeneboom) Pi. *P.* 6. 10–13. No other example is quoted with double ἦ.

32. κάμνων: normally with accus. of the part affected, whether the sense is ‘be weary’ (e.g. χεῖρα Il. 2. 389) or ‘be sick’ (e.g. τοὺς ὀφθαλ-

μούς Hdt. 2. 111. 2); the dat. in Pi. P. 8. 48 (προτέραι πάθαι), Call. Fr. 10 (ἀλήτνι), and similar exx., is different.

33-4. "Then he lets it trickle out as from a jug with holes in it, "Apollo . . . Hunter . . .". "This", I say, "even your grandmother, etc." "

ἐνταῦθα: in *apodosi*, as frequently (after ἐπεὶ e.g. Th. 5. 69. 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνιέναι ἔμελλον ἤδη, ἐνταῦθα . . .).

ὅκως: 'as', as 41, 7. 48, 13. 1, Call. *Epigr.* 48. 2, and frequently in tragedy.

νιν: the enclitic pron. forces its way into second place in the colon, breaking up the comparative phrase; cf. Callin. 1. 20 ὥσπερ γάρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσιν, Ar. *Nu.* 257 ὥσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανθ' ὅπως μὴ θύσετε, V. 363.

ἐκ τετρημένης: for the ellipse cf. 1. 25. Hardly sc. *κρησέρης* with Headlam: the pleonasm would be intolerable. (The proverbs εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν, of an impossible task, and ἐκ τετρημένης κύλικος πιεῖν, of people who are deceived, are only verbally similar.)

ἦθεϊ: not elsewhere metaphorical; *eliquare* is so used, especially similar being Apul. *Flor.* 15 (p. 20. 21 Helm) *canticum uidetur ore tereti semihiantibus in conatu labellis eliquare*.

Ἀγρεῦ: an epithet of various heroes and gods, of Apollo also in A. Fr. 332, *IG* ix. 2. 332. 1 (Thessaly, iii B.C.) (cf. Jebb on S. *OC* 1091). The origin of the *ρῆσις* is unknown, unless it is a faulty rendering of A. l.c. (prayer of Herakles) Ἀγρεὺς δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν ἰθύνοι βέλος. (P at first wrote *αυρεν*, which must be a mere slip, although it was defended by Meister as 'morgendlich leuchtend', comparing *ἄγχαυρος*, *αὔριον*, *αὔριβάτας*, and *Ἐναυρος* [an epithet of Apollo according to Hsch. ε 2706; cf. *Ἐώιος Ἀπόλλων* in A.R. 2. 686, 700], and he is followed by among others Schulze and Groeneboom. But, as Herzog notes, this is a linguistic impossibility: words in -εύς denote 'Personen, die mit einer Sache, Handlung, an einem Ort beschäftigt sind' [Schwyzer i. 476], and *Αὔρεὺς* does not fit into this category; -εύς in names is irrelevant.)

φημί: parenthetically placed, introduces M.'s comment. So *ἔφην* *ἐγώ*, *ἔφη*, etc., in Pl.'s reported dialogues. M. uses the vivid present, and continues with that tense (*οἶδεν* 37, *κείρει* 39, etc.). Headlam claimed that, if *τοῦτο* begins a new sentence, *φημί* must mean 'I repeat' (4. 45 n.), which is impossible as she has not said this before. He therefore, following Gercke and Günther, and followed by several edd., placed a comma before *τοῦτο* and took *ὅκως* as 'when' (a common Ion. and tragic use, though not in Hds.). This arrangement is possible, though it seems more forced than the usual one, but it is certainly not obligatory: why *φημί* should not simply introduce the

direct speech, whether *τοῦτο* begins a new sentence or the main clause of the whole sentence, Headlam does not explain.

**μάμμη**: this and 38 are the earliest exx. (omitted by *LSJ*) of the meaning 'grandmother'; in comedy it means 'mother'.

**35. τάλης**: 'wretch!' For this sense cf. Denniston on *E. El.* 1171 and for exx. of the vocat. Schmidt 37-8. In form this is a hyperionism (as *-ᾶνς* > *-ᾶς* postdates *ᾶ* > *η*, cf., e.g., *πᾶς*), found also in 7. 88 (but *τάλας* in 5. 55 n.). Schmidt 31 sqq. (who disposes of various attempts to disconnect it from *τάλας* or to justify the form) argues that it is due to a scribe, but the error may well be due to Hds.

**κῆσιτί**: Headlam took this to be *καὶ εἰ ἐστί*, but that is an unnecessary complication. The parenthesis suits M.'s disjointed style.

**γραμμάτων χήρη**: 'devoid of learning'. Cf. *Ph.* 1. 601 *τὰ γὰρ ἔρημα καὶ χῆρα φρονήσεως πάντα ἐπιζήμια*.

**36. Φρύξ**: 2. 37 n.

**36-49**. He is destructive.

**36. δὲ δὴ . . . καὶ**: 30 n.

**μέξον**: 'more loudly', i.e. with greater severity.

**37. γρύξαι**: this verb, derived from the sound *γρῦ* (cf. Schwyzer i. 716), meant originally 'grumble, mutter', and so frequently in *Ar.* (also probably in 85). But, quite early, it progressed to mean simply 'speak', as is shown by the derivatives *ἀγρυκτός* (*Pherecr.* 157. 2) and *ἀγρυξία* (*Pi. Fr.* 229), and this is the sense here, 6. 34, possibly 1. 36, and *Call. Fr.* 194. 60 (it was used by *Hippon.* 70. 6, but the sense is indeterminable). Most edd. (and *LSJ*) accent *γρύξαι*, but the *υ* must be long (cf. *γρῦ*), and therefore Herwerden and Groeneboom are correct with *γρῦξαι*.

**τριταῖος**: 'for three days', cf. *Theoc.* 29. 18 *τριταίου (φίλου)*, 'one who has been your friend for three days', *Hdt.* 2. 89. 1 *ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται (τετελευτηκυῖαι)*; 'on the third day' is more common. For the predicative adj. with adv. sense cf. *KG* i. 274, Schwyzer ii. 179.

**οὐκ οἶδεν**: 'is unacquainted with', i.e. does not frequent. This sense apparently elsewhere only in *Theoc.* 25. 27 *οὔρους μὴν ἴσασι φυτόσκαφοι οἱ πολύεργοι* (where the text has been doubted; this passage shows that Gow's instinct in defending it was correct, though he overlooked the parallel).

**39. γρηῖν γυναῖκα**: cf. Schwyzer ii. 614.

**ὀρφανὴν βίου**: 'destitute of the necessities of life'. Cf. *Men. Fr.* 648 *ὅταν ᾗ γέρων τις ἐνδεής τι τὸν βίον (τοῦ βίου Meineke)*.

**κείρει**: literally to cut hair, hence to cut crops, ravage a country, hence to plunder a person; an intermediate step is exemplified by *Pl. R.* 470 d *τὴν τροφὸν τε καὶ μητέρα κείρειν*, where *τροφός* and *μητήρ* are metaphorically used for *γῆ*. Cf. *Luc. Alex.* 6 *γοητεύοντες καὶ μαγγα-*

νεύοντες καὶ τοὺς παχεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ἀποκείροντες. Engl. 'fleece' and Fr. 'tondre' are similarly used.

41. καλλίης: apes were not uncommonly kept as pets (cf. Din. *Fr.* 6. 2 οἱ τοὺς καλλίας ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τρέφοντες, Thphr. *Char.* 5. 9), and naturally they climbed on to roofs (Plaut. *Mil. passim*), and sometimes broke the tiles (Babr. 125), as the boy does here (44). καλλίης is a hypocoristic from καλός, used only by Din. l.c. and Hds., but possibly hinted at by Pi. *P.* 2. 72 καλός τοι πίθων and Babr. 56.

κάτω κύπτων: he bends down apparently to see what is going on (certainly not a sign of his laziness, as Starkie on Ar. *V.* 279 thinks).

The κ-alliteration has no obvious purpose.

42. Cf. Ar. *Nu.* 1368 κἀνταῦθα πῶς οἶεσθέ μου τὴν καρδίαν ὀρεχθεῖν; Lib. *Decl.* 32. 39 τί με οἶεσθε, ᾧ βουλευταί, πάσχειν ταῦτα ἀκούοντα; σπλάγχνα the seat of anxiety as in A. *Ch.* 413 σπλάγχνα δέ μου κελευνοῦται, Ag. 995; cf. i. 57 n.

τῆς κάκης: 'because of his wickedness'; for the genit. cf. 4. 26. So Meister: other edd. read κακῆς in agreement with μου, and regard this as equivalent to ταλαίνης, but they (and LSJ s.v. κακός A I 6) are unable to produce a parallel for this sense (Crusius compares S. *OT* 1063 and other passages where it means 'base-born'; Gow so takes Theoc. 2. 41 ὅς με τάλαιναν ἀντὶ γυναικὸς ἔθηκε κακὰν καὶ ἀπάρθενον ἦμεν, but the usual sense is possible there).

43. ἴδωμι: for the form cf. 4. 63 n. There is no need to think of ἴδω μιν (Rutherford; the following τοῦδε makes this inelegant) or ἴδωμ<α>ι (Sitzler; Hds. does not have the middle).

κοὺ τόσος λόγος τοῦδε: 'and it's not so much him that I am concerned about'. Cf. Hdt. 8. 102. 3 Μαρδονίου τε, ἦν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, Q.S. 3. 616 ἀλλά μοι οὐ κείνοιο μέλει τόσον ὥς Ἀχιλλῆος.

44. ὁ κέραμος: collective, 'tiling', as often.

ἴτρια: 'wafers', very easily broken (called λεπτός by Anacr. 28 (373). i and several grammarians).

θλήται: cf. Babr. 125. 1-2 ὄνος τις ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ δῶμα καὶ παίζων τὸν κέραμον ἔθλα. κλήται (Blass) is needless.

45. κήπην ὁ χειμῶν ἐγγὺς ἦι: at the approach of winter the inhabitants of the building ensure that the roof is watertight.

ῥμαιθα: Hsch. η 415 ῥμαιθον (ῥμαθον cod.)· ῥμωβέλιον. διώβελον παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς. The word occurs also in Phoen. 2. 3 and IG xii. 1. 891. 1 (Rhodes, ii B.C.). As there is nothing to connect Hds. with Kyzikos, it will mean a half-obol. 1½ obols seems a reasonable price for a large roof-tile.

46. πλατύσματος: any flat object, here a tile. The earliest example of the word.

47. 'The whole tenement has one mouth', i.e. everyone says the

same thing. Cf. Eumathius 1. 2 ἐν στόμα πάσῃ τῇ πόλει. ἐξ (ἀφ') ἐνὸς στόματος with a verb of speaking is the normal expression.

συνοικίης: Aeschin. 1. 124 ὅπου μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ μισθωσάμενοι μίαν οἴκησιν διελόμενοι ἔχουσι, συνοικίαν καλοῦμεν, ὅπου δ' εἰς ἐνοικεῖ, οἰκίαν.

49. ἀληθινά: sc. λέγουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ συνοικίῃ; Call. *Epigr.* 25. 3 λέγουσιν ἀληθέα. For the pl. see 6. 80 n.

ὥστε μηδ' ὀδόντα κινῆσαι: the meaning has been much disputed, and cannot be certainly determined. Uncertainty begins with the subject of κινῆσαι: strict grammar demands that it should be those who speak the truth, but unexpressed change of subject in a consecutive clause is by no means unknown (A. *Pers.* 458 ἀμφὶ δὲ κυκλοῦντο [*Ἑλληνες*] πᾶσαν νόσον, ὥστε [*Πέρσας*] ἀμηχανεῖν, *Ag.* 1380–1 οὕτω δ' ἔπραξα . . . ὥς [*Ἀγαμέμνονα*] μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μόρον, E. *Or.* 428 μισοῦμεθ' ὥστε [*πολίτας*] μὴ προσεννέπειν; Headlam gives other cases where an indefinite subject is to be supplied), so that here it might be M. herself. (1) ὀδόντας κινεῖν means 'eat' in Timocl. 10. 5 and Babr. 190, and Headlam so understands here: our family cannot eat because the debt is so large that we have no money for food. This is extremely obscure. (Crusius in his 5th ed. conjectures ὀδόντας, but does not say how he understands it.) (2) The common opinion is 'so that I can't even speak (in reply to the accusation)'. Headlam makes the apparently decisive objection that teeth 'are never spoken of as the instruments of speaking—those are the lips or tongue' (with exx.); Groeneboom's Dutch parallel does not help. (3) Knox, *Philol.* lxxxix (1926), 246 n. 7, thinks κινεῖν in Ion. may mean βάλλειν, 'lose', and the sense is 'if they had lied I'd have knocked their teeth out', comparing Hippon. 73. 4–5 οἱ δέ μευ ὀδόντας ἐν ταῖς γνώθοισι πάντες ἐκκεκινέεται (which probably does not mean 'have been knocked out', see below) and Aret. 1. 9. 2 ὀδόντες ἐκινήθησαν καὶ ἐμελάνθησαν (which cannot mean 'were knocked out'). (4) Barigazzi translates 'I did not make them feel the bite of pain', comparing Ach. Tat. 7. 4 ὁ τῆς λύπης ὁδούς: with no idea of pain expressed this can hardly be extracted from the words. Similarly Lloyd-Jones translates 'so that I didn't even attempt to bite back', comparing A. *Ag.* 791 δῆγμα δὲ λύπης οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡπαρ προσικνεῖται. (5) It seems likely that there is a connection with Hippon. l.c.: if Masson has correctly placed this fragment in a context where 'il s'agit apparemment de deux personnes victimes d'une grande frayeur' (and this seems to be the case), the sense there is 'my teeth moved with fright'. I therefore tentatively suggest here 'so that they did not even move a tooth (in fear of making a false accusation)', i.e. so that they were completely confident. The sing. ὀδόντα reinforces μηδέ.

50–5. He is idle.

50. δὲ κοίως: P has δέκοιωσ. Hds. uses both interrogative and relative pronouns in indirect questions (e.g. 2. 28, 7. 22). *LSJ* cite δποιώς from a glossary, ποιώς from Hdn. Gr. and Bacch. Decision is impossible.

τὴν ράκιν λελέπηκε πᾶσαν: literally 'he has become rough and scaly as to his whole back', construction as in Hp. *Epid.* 5. 17 ἐλέπρα τὴν κύστιν. ράκιν = ῥάχιν; the form is not otherwise known, but related words vary between κ and χ (ῥακ(χ)ετρίζω, ῥακ(χ)ετρον, ῥακ(χ)ίζω). The reason for this condition is over-exposure to the sun (see below). Others, including Meister and Groeneboom, take ράκιν to mean ῥάκος (an equation which they do not attempt to justify; if this were correct, one would have to read ράκην with Radermacher, comparing βλάβη and βλάβος, etc.): Headlam correctly objected that it must because of the construction be a part of the body (cf. Schwyzer ii. 84-5), and M. Marcovich, *Philol.* cx (1966), 137, adds that λεπρ-suits skin much better than clothing. Groeneboom's argument that M., who cares more for the tiles than for her son, would worry about the state of his clothes rather than about that of his back, is beside the point: she is not commiserating with him, but pointing out his idleness.

51-2. 'Spending his blunted life in the wood, like a Delian pot-fisherman at sea.' Only Meister punctuates correctly: other edd. take κατ' ὕλην with λελέπηκε, which, besides destroying the parallelism of the comparison, is open to the grammatical objection that an adverbial phrase would qualify an intransitive perf. of result. The boy spends his life in the woods, the fisherman at sea: both get too much sun.

κατ' ὕλην: as in Il. 3. 151, 10. 184, 13. 102, Od. 9. 120, *h. Ap.* 360, *E. Ba.* 688. Meister took this to mean 'im Schlamm', comparing Phot. ὕλην· τὸ καθίζον τοῦ οἴνου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης (*Fr.* 879) (the word has since turned up in *UPZ* 70. 9, and is a not unlikely conjecture in Thgn. 961); similarly A. P. Smotrytsch, *Philol.* cvii (1963), 315, understands as pools on the sea-shore. But these are unnecessary complications, designed to make the comparison closer than it need be (the reply of Marcovich, l.c., to Smotrytsch, that ὕλη may mean 'Schlamm' but hardly 'stehendes Wasser' ignores the explanation of Phot.).

Δήλιος κυρτεύς: a κυρτεύς fished with a κύρτη, which was baited, let down, left, and later pulled up again; this lazy existence is perfectly suited for comparison with that of K. Why the κυρτεύς should be specified as Δήλιος is unclear: there is no other indication that this occupation was peculiar to or especially well known in Delos. Edd. compare the proverbial Δήλιος κολυμβήτης—Groeneboom indeed seems to think that that is meant here—which is irrelevant, unless it is supposed that Hds. confused the two. Lloyd-Jones suggests that the

point is that Delians made an easy living out of visitors, so that a Delian *κυρτεὺς* is doubly lazy. Palmer's *δελταῖος* is worth a mention.

τῶμβλὺ τῆς ζοῆς: his dull, pointless life (from M.'s point of view: both the *κυρτεὺς* and K. would describe it differently). For the phrase cf. 1. 67 n. Dalmeida, followed by Cataudella and Puccioni, translates 'la partie émuossée de la vie, la vieillesse', under the mistaken impression that the genit. must be partitive: old age suits neither K. nor (in particular) the *κυρτεὺς*.

τρίβων: 'τρίβειν βίον (much the same as *aetatem terere*, etc.) as a rule does not indicate a way of living in a neutral sense, but is disparagingly used of a dragging life which is wearisome, miserable, purposeless, etc.' (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 465, who compares S. *El.* 602 *τλήμων* 'Ορέστης δυστυχῇ τρίβει βίον, and other passages).

53. τὰς ἐβδόμας δ' . . . εἰκάδας τ': P has τ' for δ', but δ' gives a much better connection. Knox's idea that the *δα* written above -μας is intended to make this correction is unlikely (cf. below).

ἐβδόμας: Hes. *Op.* 770-1 ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμαρ, τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ: it was therefore a holy-day and the schools would be closed (cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 170). For the manner of expressing 'the seventh of each month' cf. Hdt. 6. 57. 2; the collectives in -ας were more usual (as *τριηκάς* 9, *εἰκάδες* here), and some one has therefore added *δα* above ἐβδόμας to show the sense.

εἰκάδας: also regarded as the birthday of Apollo (L. Deubner, *Att. Feste* 202).

54. ἀστροδιφίων: 'star-seekers', *ἀπ. λεγ.* For *διφῶν* see 7. 78 n. Astronomers were concerned with regulating the calendar, and would therefore know very well what day it was.

κοῦδ' ὕπνος: probably 'and not even sleep (who is *πανδαμάτωρ*, Il. 24. 5, etc.) overcomes him' (Headlam). Alternatively 'and sleep too does not . . .' (cf. Denniston 195, 583, and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1523).

αἰρεῖται: for the middle cf. S. *OT* 887 *κακά νιν ἔλοιτο μοῖρα*. It is quite natural (Jebb does not find it necessary to comment on S. l.c.), as the subject clearly has a deep interest in the action, though the active is normal (Il. 10. 192-3 etc.). Edd. make too much of it.

55. ὅτ' ἡμος: relative, '(the time) when'; cf. A. *Ra.* 1002 *φυλάξεις ἡνίκ' ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα λείον καὶ καθεστηκὸς λάβῃς*. *ἡμος*, originally an independent relative particle, is used by A.R. and later writers of hexameters in conjunction with *ὅτε*, apparently merely to emphasize the latter, but always in the order *ἡμος ὅτε*; the reverse order here however may be simply because this is iambic, not dactylic verse. The unusual construction and the unique *ὅτ' ἡμος* led Headlam to conjecture the interrogative *ὅπῃμος* (mentioned by Theognost., *ὅππῃμος* Arat. 568), and he is followed by later edd. and *LSJ* Suppl. (Knox and Cataudella also adopt Rutherford's *ἀγνεῖτε*): but neither 'con-



sidering when you are to be on holiday' nor 'when you are on holiday' is as appropriate as the vulgate. Meister's claim that *τῆμος* can be relative and *ὁτῆμος* therefore a general relative requires better support then [Hp.] *Prorrh.* 2. 4 (τ' ἥμος Littré).

*παιγνίην ἀγινῆτε* = *ἐορτὴν ἄγητε*. For *παιγνία* cf. Ar. *Lys.* 70 *Ἡκάτη ποιοῦσα παιγνίαν*. *ἀγινέω* is an Ion. equivalent of *ἄγω* (though normally reserved for a special use, see 4. 87 n.). Elsewhere Hds. has *ἄν* with the subj. in temporal sentences (except with *ἄχρις* and *μέχρις*, see 2. 43 n.).

56-8. M. has run out of complaints and repeats her initial request.

56-7. *εἰ . . . τελοῖεν . . . καὶ . . . κύρσαις*: i.e. if you wish this to happen. For an opt. of wish in a subordinate clause cf. 79, Gow on Theoc. 15. 70.

*βίου πρῆξιν ἐσθλήν*: 'good success in life', cf. Pi. *O.* 1. 85 (Pelops prays to Poseidon) *τὺ δὲ πρᾶξιν φίλαν δίδοι*.

*αἶδε*: the Muses (cf. 1. 97), representations of whom were placed in schools (Aeschin. 1. 10 with Sch., Ath. 348 d).

58. *ἔλασσον*: might be adverbial (as in 7. 91), but in view of L.'s *ἔξει* (59) probably accus., 'don't give him less than he deserves (or, than I ask)'.

58-70. L. interrupts the tirade, and prepares to mete out punishment.

58. *〈μῆ〉 ἐπεύχεο*: 'stop praying'. A simple haplography.

59. *ἔξει γὰρ οὐδὲν μείον*: 'for he shall have no less (a beating if you keep on praying)'.

59-60. *Εὐθύης κτλ.*: L. calls on three of his pupils to assist. *Εὐθύης* (also in 4. 24) is a common name; *Φίλλος* is rare (quoted from Anacr. 141 (486) by Hdn.; related forms such as *Φίλλης*, *-ιος*, *-ίων* are known); *Κόκκαλος* is unique (*Κοκκάλη* is a slave in 4, and so is *Κοκκαλίνη* in [D.] 59. 35; but there is nothing inherently servile about it).

61. *ἀρεῖτ' ἐπ' ὧμου*: cf. Apul. *Met.* 9. 28 *uocatis duobus e familia ualidissimis quam altissime sublato puero ferula nates eius obuerberans . . .* A painting from Herculaneum which depicts a boy being punished in this position is reproduced in Daremberg-Saglio ii. 488, fig. 2614, and Baumeister, *Denkm.* 1590, no. 1653.

*τῇ Ἀκέσῳ σεληναίῃ δείξοντες*: the sense must be 'in order to show him to the moon of Akeses'. Akeses or Akesaios was the pilot of Neleus who always waited for the full moon, *ἵνα ἐν φωτὶ ὁ πλοῦς γένηται* (Zen. etc.). His moon is thus the time that is ripe for action; L. feels he has been patient long enough. So Headlam (whose note should be consulted for the integration of the proverbs *Λακωνικὰς σελήνας* and its opposite *Ἀκεσσαίου σελήνη* into this scheme). Others translate 'you who seem likely to show him to the moon of A.' (Crusius, Puccioni), thinking that the pupils are showing undue delay: but this is grammatically impossible (*ὧ* or *οἱ* would be required, whether or not there

is a pause after ὥμου) and Akeses did not waste time, but waited for the right moment. A totally different explanation is given by Radermacher: the moon of Akeses is the full moon, when eclipses occur: these require apotropaic measures, one of which is physical exposure: hence to show oneself to the moon of A. is to expose oneself shamelessly. However if this were true, one would expect the pres. part., and there is no other evidence for the hypothesis.

62. αἰνέω: sarcastic. Cf. 67.

63-5. L. takes up M.'s words (6, 11-12), with variations of construction. The lines are much more effective as an indignant question (*vulgo*) than as a statement (Barigazzi).

63. δορκάσιν: see on 19 δορκαλίδες.

παίλειν: P at first wrote πέμπειν, which, though defended by Crusius, Herzog, and Puccioni, is clearly impossible: to give any sense it would have to mean 'throw', which it does not. παίλειν on the other hand gives excellent sense; for the construction with the dat. cf. Pherecr. 43 ἀντ' ἀστραγάλων κονδύλοισι παίζετε. Yet it is hard to see how one was mistaken for the other (Headlam compares A. Eu. 203 πέμψαι] πράξαι Kirchhoff, followed by among others Wilamowitz with the comment 'mira tamen corruptela'; but Heath's πέμψας, accepted by Blass and Groeneboom, is much more likely). There may be truth in the second part of Crusius's comment, 'πέμπειν si falsum est requisitum aliquid latet'.

64. ἀστράβδ': ᾤπ. λεγ. P, writing ἀστράβδ, seems to have hesitated over the accentuation, ᾤστραβδα or ἀστράβδα or ἀστραβδά (with elision ἀστράβδ'). Grammarians also disputed the matter: A.D. *adv.* 152. 6 says, in opposition to the view that all adverbs in -δα are oxytone, that those in -ίνδα indicating games and those without parallel forms in -δόν are barytone, Hdn. Gr. i. 495. 22 that those in -ίνδα and those with a *medium* (β, γ) before -δα are barytone (in practice these formulations come to the same). They would therefore have rejected ἀστραβδά, but it is unclear which of the barytone forms they would have preferred, as their exx., and indeed apparently all other exx., are disyllabic. Decision is impossible. With the more recent edd. I write ἀστράβδα.

The derivation and meaning are also dubious. Diels, Meister, and others derive from α στερητικόν and στραφ- (στρέφω); Headlam points out however that no example is known of a negat. adv. in -δ'α, -δόν, -δῆν (though such in -(τ)ι are frequent); until this objection is overcome, we need not consider the various meanings suggested ('in-corrupte', 'unverwandt', 'continually', 'with the hand upturned', etc.). Tucker derives from ἀστράβη; Headlam again notes the wrong formation—it would have been \*ἀστραβηδά, as ἀγεληδά etc. There remains the derivation from ἀστράπτω (so Zielinski *apud* Crusius),

which is open to no formal objections; but its reference is far from clear: 'per un attimo' Cataudella and similarly Puccioni, 'quick-eyed' (of the quick, graceful glances of the players) Knox, 'fulminis instar' Crusius without further explanation—none seems remotely likely. Yet a corruption seems equally unlikely. Probably it is a technical gaming term.

65. φοιτέων: with ἐς διδασκάλου or absolutely φοιτᾶν means 'go to school' (*LSJ* s.v. I 5). L. ironically suggests that the boy's school is the παίστρη.

66-7. The alliteration in κ is very marked. Winbolt and Headlam think it is a sign of L.'s rising temper; but L. is not angry (at least not yet, see on 70), but sarcastically calm, as εἰ τό γ' ἥδιστον shows; and it is probably this which is emphasized by the alliteration. The sentence is remarkably similar to Ar. *Lys.* 473-4 ἐπεὶ θέλω γὰρ σωφρόνως ὥσπερ κόρη καθῆσθαι, λυποῦσα μηδὲν ἐνθαδί, κινουσα μηδὲ κάρφος: 'eine Aristophanesreminiscenz' Crusius, but more probably both draw on common proverbial expressions.

κοσμιώτερον κούρης: cf. X. *Lac.* 3. 5 αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγῆσαι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις παρθένων, and the adv. κορικῶς.

κινεῦντα μηδὲ κάρφος: this proverbial expression was used ἐπὶ τῶν ἡσύχων (*Diogenian.* 6. 67, *Suda* μ 872). Hds. gives a fuller version in I. 54 οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς κινέων. A κάρφος is a dry stick or twig, and like Engl. 'straw', is used of totally insignificant things, so that one who does not move even a κάρφος is very quiet and peaceful indeed.

εἰ τό γ' ἥδιστον: 'if that (to be well-behaved and quiet) is what you want'. 'Of course it is not what the boy wants, but it is schoolmaster humour on such occasions to affect that it is' (Jevons). γὰρ is frequently used with pronouns (*Denniston* 121 (4); cf. especially II. 1. 116 εἰ τό γ' ἄμεινον), but also occurs in sarcastic exclamations (*Denniston* 128), to which this is akin. Headlam collects exx. of similar expressions, and notes that a dat. is regularly added (but omitted, e.g. A.R. 2. 1185 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα νέεσθαι ὅππῃ φίλον).

68. σκῦτος: a leather strap, a schoolmaster's weapon also in Lib. *Or.* 58. 9 παιδαγωγῶν . . . σκῦτος σειόντων, cf. Plu. *Pomp.* 18. 1. It is δριμύ because it produces a piercing sensation in the victim (cf. D. Chr. *Or.* 8 τῶν σφηκῶν τὸ κέντρον δριμύτατον). P has σκυλος, which some edd. retain as σκυλος, but the antithesis σκυλος:σκῦτος is well established, and the few variant passages should be corrected (*LSJ* s.v. σκῦτος fin.). For the confusion cf. Theoc. 25. 142 and other passages cited by Headlam. It is just possible that σκύλος is correct with a second-metron choriamb (*Groeneboom*) (*Appendix III*, 7) but, as Schmidt 102 notes, only σκῦτος is attested in this sense.

ἡ βοδὸς κέρκος: cf. Phan. *AP* 6. 294. 3 κέρκος among articles dedicated by a retiring schoolmaster, Juv. 7. 212 *cauda magistri*. That this

is in apposition to *σκῦτος* and not an alternative (ᾗ Rutherford) is shown by the masc. *ὦ* in 69 (Rutherford, it should be said, read *τῇ* there, but no one will believe in that).

69. *πεδήτας*: fetters appear again in 95.

*ἀποτάκτους*: 'set apart'. L. keeps his disobedient pupils fettered in a special place, where he deals with them. It cannot = *ἀτάκτους* ('dissolutos' Bücheler, 'disobedient' Nairn), because *ἀπο-* in negat. nominal compounds is joined with nouns, not verbs (*τακτός* does not have the appropriate sense); that Opp. was capable of writing *ἀπό-παστος* is immaterial.

70. *ἐς τὴν χεῖρα*: cf. Ar. *Nu.* 506 *εἰς τῷ χεῖρέ νυν δός μοι μελι-τούτταν*.

*χοληβῆξαι*: this, the reading of P, clearly requires some modification. (1) *χολῇ βῆξαι*, 'choke with bile', which rises up because of his anger; so Hicks, followed by Meister, Headlam, Groeneboom, Knox, and Cataudella; but Puccioni rightly objects that *βήσσειν* means 'cough', not 'choke' (Meister's talk of comic bathos does not help). (2) *χολὴν βῆξαι*, 'cough up bile', Crusius and Herzog; but Headlam shows that emission of bile occurs because of illness or disgust, but not anger. (3) *χολὴν ῥῆξαι* Richards (independently Meerwaldt; accepted by Nairn in his Budé ed. and by Puccioni); there is no exact parallel, but *φωνὴν ῥῆξαι* (Hdt., Ar., D.) gives some support, and this is the best proposal if a form of *χολή* is to be kept. (4) Ribbeck however correctly observed that L. throughout shows sarcasm, not anger, and conjectured *σχολή βῆξαι*, 'before there's time to cough'; cf. Men. *Pk.* 202 *πρὶν πτύσαι*, Theoc. 29. 27 *πρὶν ἀποπτύσαι*. But one would expect the simple infin. as in these exx.; *σχολή βῆξαι* can hardly be regarded as an equivalent (the construction cannot be *πρὶν σχολή ἐστιν*—doubtful Greek—or *πρὶν* (ἄν) *σχολή ᾗ*, because *πρὶν* would then mean 'until'). (5) One might suggest *σχολῇ βῆξαι* in the same sense, though it is not the most natural of expressions.

71–87. The flogging takes place. K. makes several pleas for mercy, which are turned aside by L., and finally promises to behave better in future; this apparently wins over L.

71. *μ'*: the enclitic pron. takes second place, as usual (so in 86 in the same type of sentence); the invocation becomes so long that it has to be repeated in 73.

*ἰκετεύω*: Hds. follows Hippon., in whom shortening of *ευ* occurs (37 *ἐκέλευε βάλλειν καὶ λεύειν Ἰππώνακτα*, 44 *καὶ τοί γ' εὐώνον αὐτὸν εἰ θέλεις δώσω*, and possibly 43 *θηρεύει*—the exact text is uncertain); Hds. 9. 2 seems to be another case; and *ἰχνεύειν* is required in Pi. *P.* 8. 35, *Εὐηρείδα* in Theoc. 24. 71. The *υ* of the diphthong has become consonantal (*w*) between two vowels (for late exx., connected with the modern pronunciation of *ευ*, see Schwyzer i. 198 δ and Wilamowitz,

GV 290 Anm. 4). This is the most likely explanation of a difficult line. To keep P's *μή μή* (cf. 5. 19, Ar. V. 1418 *μή μή καλέσης πρὸς τῶν θεῶν*, etc.) involves either admitting a second-foot anapaest (with *ικετεύω*), which is not found in Hds. (4. 71 and 6. 81 are easily and certainly corrected) or other choliambic writers, or making considerable changes later in the line (*πρὸς σὲ Μουσέων Λ.* or *πρὸς σὲ τῶνδε Λ.* or *τῶν σε Μουσέων Λ.* Headlam [who forgetfully ascribes the first of these to Nicholson], *πρὸς σ', ἄριστε, τῶν Μουσέων* Stadtmüller; Rutherford's *Πρίσκε* and Ellis's *Ἀμπρισκε* are curiosities). *ικετεύω* is unlikely to be a gloss on *ἄντομαι* (Richards) or a corruption of *ικετέω* (Hicks, Gercke and Günther; parallels for *-έω* and *-εύω* coexisting are late). The marks in P above *ευ* are a red herring: they are *[[ου]]*—the correction for 72 put in the wrong place and deleted (Kenyon *apud* Nairn).

σε: with *ικετεύω*.

ου ου  
72. *τῶν γενειῶν* P: both sing. and pl. are possible (for the pl. of one person's chin or beard cf. S. OT 1277, Theoc. 6. 36, etc.). With most edd. I accept the correction because the pl. can be explained as false assimilation to *Μουσέων* (Blass). The origin of the expression is the custom of touching the chin in supplication (Il. 1. 501, 8. 371); but the conjunction with *Μουσέων* and *ψυχῆς* shows that it has become a conventional phrase in such situations.

Κόττιδος: *Κόττις* is 'a piteous diminutive' (Headlam) of *Κότταλος*: the boy pleads by his own life, which is in danger (cf. 3-4, 86); similarly the Phrygian in E. Or. 1517 (after Orestes says *ἄμοσον—εἰ δὲ μή, κτενῶ σε—μή λέγειν ἐμὴν χάριν*) says *τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν κατώμοσα*. *ὑποκοριστικά* in *-ις* are frequent (so *Μάνδρις* in 1). Richards and Blass think that *Κοττίς* (fem.) is the wife or daughter of L., and so also Crusius, Groeneboom, and Puccioni, keeping the original reading of P, *Κουτίδος*; but this cannot be correct with no explanation of who the lady is (in the superficially similar 5. 70, the identity of *Βατυλλίς* is made clear). In any case it must be a name (*κοττίδος*, 'per capitale ingenium tuum', Bücheler and others, which is nonsense). Cf. also Schmidt 107 sq.

73. *μή*: this is here a 'special' negat., affecting the following words, not the whole sentence (for the terminology see A. C. Moorhouse, *Stud. in the Gr. Negat.*, who does not recognize a special use of *μή*), and it is wrong to speak of an ellipse of *λωβήσῃ*. So 78, 5. 29, 52, Aeschin. 1. 193 *μή οὖν εἰς ἀθρόους ἀλλ' εἰς ἓνα ἀποσκήψατε*, etc. The special negat. in Greek is of course normally *οὐ*, but in such sentences *μή* is used because of the command.

με: the enclitic forces its way into second place in the colon, breaking up even article and noun; so 5. 12, 7. 126.

τῶι ἑτέρῳ: a milder strap, or possibly a different type of implement, e.g. a νάρθηξ.

74. καὶ περνάς: 'even if you were for sale', when *mangones quidquid est quod displiceat aliquo lenocinio abscondunt* (Sen. *Ep.* 80. 9).

75. ἐπαινέσειεν: potential without ἄν. The only case quoted in the grammars (Schwyzer ii. 680. 5, with references) for this in a consecutive sentence is E. *IA* 418 μητῆρ δ' ὁμαρτεῖ, σῆς Κλυταιμῆστρας δέμας, καὶ παῖς Ὀρέστης, ὥστε τερφθείης ἰδών, which is generally considered corrupt (ὥς τι Hermann, Murray; but a final sentence is not wanted), unnecessarily. There is no difference of principle between such consecutive sentences and main sentences, in which the pure potential is accepted (5. 76 n.). Edd. have rightly refused to accept Richards's κᾶν in 74.

ἔκου is clearly correct; probably P, in first writing ὅκως, thought that χώρης was χωρήεις (Headlam). Crusius, Herzog, and Groeneboom keep ὅκως, but there is no evidence for this in a local sense (ὥς—*LSJ* s.v. A c—is not sufficient; *ut* is irrelevant).

76. A place where mice are forced to eat iron must be very barren and poor, and its inhabitants would be unlikely to find too much fault with a potential slave. K.'s πονηρία is extreme. In Sen. *Apo.* 7 the expression is applied to Hades (*uenisti huc ubi mures ferrum rodunt*), cf. Call. *Fr.* 191. 1–2 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἤκω ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῶν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσιν. Arist., Thphr., and later writers try to localize the tale in Gyaros (well known to be desolate) or elsewhere, but its general origin is shown by this passage and that in Sen. (Cf. Crusius, *Unters.* 72–4, E. Wendling, *Philol.* li [1892], 177–80.)

ὁμοίως: if sound, this must mean 'equally with other food', which is not easy. Headlam takes = πάντες or πανταχῇ ὁμοίως, but there is no point in this. Knox at one time thought that οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως was the remains of a gloss (οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως Ὁμηρος ἐν τῇ Βατραχομομαχίᾳ) on οἱ λειχοπίνακες; other conjectures by him and by others do not even have the merit of ingeniousness.

77. κόσας: sc. πληγὰς, as 5. 33–4, and frequently. For the repetition cf. 4. 61.

78. ἔς μ' ἐνφορῆσαι: 'inflict on me', with εἰς also Alciphr. 1. 9 (the dat. is naturally more frequent). The real objection to P's ἔς μεν φορῆσαι (defended by Crusius, Nairn, Herzog, and doubtfully by Groeneboom) is not that one has to understand τὸ νῶτον or the like, but that πληγὰς φορεῖν is not a known or a plausible expression.

79. ταταῖ: an exclamation of pain, elicited by yet another blow. The form occurs elsewhere only in Plaut. *Stich.* 771 in a series of Greek exclamations, *babae!—tatae!—papa!—pax!* (Headlam cites also *Truc.* 663, but *tat* is probably the correct reading there), but ἀτταταῖ and ἰατταταῖ are found in Ar. etc. MSS. vary in such words between -αῖ, -αί,

and -ā, but -aî is the only correct form. Many edd. retain P's τατᾶ as a vocat., 'mama', induced by τήνδε δ' εἰρώτα in 78: but K. need not address his mother (though the pl. verb cannot be adduced against this, cf. 87 n.) and τατᾶ, like τέττα and Lat. *tata*, means 'father' (Crusius's suggestion that in his pain the boy makes a verbal error is not to be taken seriously). The quantity is τᾶτ-, whatever the meaning; the μακρόν in P probably represents a misunderstood *paragraphos*.

δώσει: addressed to L. as doer and to M. as instigator.

εἴ τί σοι ζώην: 'as I wish to live', cf. 56-7 n. σοι is ethic dat. Once the sense is realized, it is clear that the words must be spoken by M., and alternative attributions—some involving the introduction of the un-Herodean ζωή—need not be considered.

80. '(As many) as his wretched hide can bear.' For the order (which misled P at first) cf. Th. 3. 39. 2 νῆσον δὲ οἴτινες ἔχοντες . . . , *KG* ii. 598 (6). The reason is normally to emphasize the prefixed word, but φέρειν seems to bear little emphasis here.

βύρσα: contemptuous, as in the series of vulgar threats, Ar. *Eq.* 369.

81. καὶ . . . δὴ signifies that an important addition is being made (Denniston 253-4).

82. οὐκέτ' οὐκέτι: as in 77, K. repeats his initial word in his anxious excitement. This is the only correction of P's οὐκέτ' οὐχί which is grammatically possible (accepted only by Bücheler and Herwerden, approved by Edmonds). Headlam accepts Blass's οὐκέτ' οὐχί <μη>, all other edd. read οὐκέτ' οὐχί <τι> with Kenyon: they have forgotten the rule that compound negat.+simple negat. = positive (*KG* ii. 205). Exx. of this are few in Greek (cf. Wackernagel ii. 301), but simple exceptions are non-existent (they are all of the type D. 21. 143 οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἔστιν οὐτ' ἔσται, with double subject or predicate; in D. 4. 44 οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων modern edd. omit the οὐ with S<sup>1</sup>AY). οὐχί τι could not be considered a compound negat. (as οὐ τι might).

πρήξω: sc. κάκ' ἔργα. P, in writing παίξω at first, was thinking of the chief of K.'s sins, but we want a general promise here, and also the double consonant.

83. τὰς φίλας Μούσας: K.'s repentance is apparently complete, the Muses are now dear to him.

84. L. has heard such promises before, and is sceptical. The line is repeated in a similar context in 5. 8.

ῥοσσην: exclamatory and predicative, cf. Ar. *Pl.* 748 ῥοσσην ἔχεις τὴν δύναμιν, Schwyzer ii. 626. Cf. S. *Ant.* 128 μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους.

85. μῦν: clearly a gag of some kind is meant. That 'mouse' is a popular name for a gag, because of the resemblance between μῦς and μύω, seems more probable than that there existed another word μῦς, etymologically connected with μύω and surviving only here (so

Meister; his view that a parallel βύς from βύω has been 'volksetymologisch' replaced by βοῦς in the proverb βοῦς μέγας ἐπὶ γλώσσης βέβηκεν is certainly wrong). As Headlam says, the threat need mean no more than 'I'll keep you quiet', but I fancy L. was quite capable of using a literal gag.

87. L. is convinced, or at least feels he has given enough punishment.

μέθεσθε . . . αὐτόν: μεθίεμαι, as distinct from μεθίημι, normally takes a genit.; this is the earliest certain ex. of the accus. (for classical ones, which are easily emended or explained, see *LSJ* s.v. μεθίημι III); Headlam quotes from later writers Luc. *Syr. D.* 18 φιλέων γυναῖκα ἐμήν, τὴν ἐγὼ οὐτι μεθήσομαι, Plu. *Mor.* 1105 f, Hld. 8. 5. 2, Q.S. 3. 261. The middle has been assimilated to the active, the original nuance 'free oneself from' forgotten.

Kokkalos is addressed as representative of the trio, hence the verb is pl.; so 7. 14, 18, Men. *Per.* 4, and frequently.

87-97. M. objects to the cessation of the punishment, and goes off home to fetch fetters for K. The precise details of the action are obscure, because, as Headlam said, 'how to divide the passage among the speakers is the most baffling thing in Herodas where the words are legible', and also the interpretation of several lines is extremely difficult.

87. οὐ δ<εἰ σ'> ἐκλήξαι: ΕΙC has fallen out before ΕΚ; this simple correction has deservedly found widespread support. Knox's objection, that the pres. δεῖ is impossible when L. has in fact stopped (he therefore reads οὐκ ἔδει λῆξαι with Bücheler), is pedantic: M. in her desperation ignores this.

ἐκλήξαι: the intensive compound only here and in S. *El.* 1312 (with a part.; but λήγω is frequently used absolutely).

88. δεῖρον: with Sitzler and Meerwaldt I reject the δ' offered as a correction by P: asyndeton is very suitable when she amplifies her negat. statement with a posit. command. Interpolation of particles is a common occurrence. Knox's δείροντ' gives a smoother sentence, but that is no advantage here.

δύση: the 1st aor. of δύω and compounds is normally causal, 'make to sink', etc., the intransitive sense being reserved for the 2nd aor. ἔδυν and the middle (cf. *KG* i. 96-7). But occasionally the 1st aor. is intransitive: *h. Ap.* 443 ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε, Olymp. in *Mete.* 2. 6 ἐλθόντος δ' εἰς τὰς δυσμὰς τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ δύσαντος. I see therefore no reason for emending: δύνη (Herwerden) and δύνη (Rutherford; 2nd aor.) would be possible, but the redivision δὺς ῥη (Meister, accepted by Crusius, Nairn, Groeneboom, and Herzog) is unlikely: an event, not a description, is required.

89-91. Consideration of these lines must start with the meaning of



ὑδρῆς ποικιλώτερος. (1) Rutherford and most edd. take it literally, 'more speckled than a hydra', referring to the condition of his back after the beating. (2) Hicks, followed by Headlam, Nairn, and Knox, takes it metaphorically, 'more cunning than a hydra' (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ποικίλος III 3 c). (1) is not possible: it cannot be meant that there are red weals on his back, because a hydra was black and white (*RE* iia. 1. 554-5), and it cannot be meant that he is 'black and blue', because there has not been time for that to have occurred. (2) is confirmed by the interpretation of the paroemiographers ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ δόλῳ θαυμαζομένων (ἐπὶ δόλῳ Kuster: δολερῶς ἦτοι Suda π 3084: δολερῶν ἦτοι Diogenian. 7. 69, Macar. 7. 30).

If 89 belongs to L., ἀλλά must have its reluctantly assentient force (Denniston 16 sqq.), 'Well, I must admit he is . . .': but then καὶ δεῖ λαβεῖν νιν . . . ἄλλας εἴκοσιν γε must also belong to L., whereas, after 87-8, M. is surely the only one who can say this. 89 must therefore also be spoken by M. But she cannot say this immediately after 88, and an objection of L. must have intervened to account for ἀλλά. Unless one gives ἄχρῃς ἥλιος δύσῃ to L. as an ironic question (Knox), which I find most unnatural, there must be a lacuna; a line starting with ἀλλ' (Nairn suggested ἀλλ' ἀντέχειν ὁ παῖς ὅδ' οὐκέτ' ἰσχύει) would explain the omission.

This gives a clear and natural sequence: M. 'Don't stop beating him.' L. 'But he has had enough.' M. 'But he is much more cunning than a hydra and he ought to get another twenty strokes at least.' But what of καπὶ βυβλίῳ δῆκου τὸ μηδέν? The least objectionable treatment is to regard them as an interjection by M. into her own sentence, 'even over his book, the wretch', i.e. even if he were to feign studiousness, taken up and amplified in καὶ ἦν μέλλῃ κτλ. For ἐπὶ cf. Plu. *Mor.* 796 c (some mistakenly suppose that) φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ δίφρου διαλεγομένους καὶ σχολὰς ἐπὶ βιβλίοις περαίνοντας; for τὸ μηδέν cf. Denniston on E. *El.* 370 (τὸν μηδέν would also be possible, but it is hardly essential, as Headlam claims). The words might be spoken in the same sense by L., when δῆκου would be easier, but τὸ μηδέν does not combine well with this; γε does not, *pace* Headlam, require a change of speaker. Other interpretations of ἐπὶ βυβλίῳ are 'for neglecting his book' (Nairn) and 'pendant la leçon de lecture' (Groeneboom), but it is doubtful if these can be extracted from the words. τὸ μηδέν can hardly be the object of λαβεῖν (whether spoken by L., who is then interrupted by M.—Groeneboom, or by K., interrupting—Headlam and Knox, the latter giving δῆκου τὸ μηδέν to K., when the position of δῆκου is doubtful), because of the article.

But I am not confident of having said the last word on this passage.

92. Κλεοῦς: this form also in Pi. *N.* 3. 83, *Pae.* VIIa. 7, and restored

*metri causa* in B. 3. 3. A muse, one of the goddesses presiding over poetry, and always present in school (57 n.), would naturally be a good reader.

93. ἴσσαϊ: this word is quoted by grammarians in the shorter form ἴσσα (unless that is a corruption of ἴσσαϊ, cf. 79 n.) from Pl. Com. 66 and Men. Fr. 273; they say it is an ἐπιχαρτικὸν ἐπιφώνημα (AB 100. 27) or an ἐπίφθεγμα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπολαχόντων καὶ ὅλως δυσπραγούντων (Συν. λέξ. χρῆσ. [Suda ι 605, Phot.]). Who is here exultant over the misfortunes of others? Certainly not M., hardly L., but clearly K., who has now been freed and can be his old self again, rejoicing over the discomfiture of his mother. Crusius and Groeneboom think he sticks out his tongue in defiance (because of γλάσσαν following), but that is an unnecessary refinement. (If we choose to put aside the only evidence we have for the meaning of ἴσσαϊ, we can interpret it as we please: *iter ad malum praeceps ac lubricum*.)

λάβοις τὴν γλάσσαν ἐς μέλι πλύνας: Nestor's voice ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν (Il. 1. 249); when the Muses honour a man, τῶι μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσηι γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἔερσην, τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα (Hes. Th. 83-4, cf. Theoc. 7. 82). If therefore K. were to wash his tongue in honey, he would become an orator and scholar; as he appears unlikely to make any effort in this direction, L. ironically wishes that it may happen without his knowledge. The same sense, but without the subtle nuance of λάβοις, is given by Groeneboom's μάθοις . . . πλύναι. It is just possible that the sense is 'may you cleanse your foul tongue', and the use of πλύναι favours this, but evidence of honey as a cleansing agent would be desirable (Mithraic rites of the third century A.D., introduced by Ellis, are unlikely to be relevant), and the point of λάβοις would be unclear. I cannot believe that μέλι means μελίσσας or μέλαν or that the latter should be read (Crusius), or that it is a euphemism for some vulgar expression (Sitzler, Cataudella, Puccioni); Knox's idea that there is a suppressed reference to castration is ruled out by the presence of γλάσσαν.

94. ἐπιμηθέως: 'on second thoughts': if she had been προμηθής, had foreseen the outcome of bringing K. to L., she would not have done so; but, as it is, being ἐπιμηθής, she will now do what she ought to have done previously. So Headlam and Groeneboom. Cf. ἐπίνοια in S. Ant. 245, the personifications Προμηθεύς and Ἐπιμηθεύς, and Wackernagel ii. 245. Most edd. translate 'carefully' (which has no obvious point), comparing the only other occurrence of the word, Theoc. 25. 79, where the traditional rendering is 'thoughtful'; but the context there shows that Headlam, followed by Gow, is correct in translating 'thoughtless'. Knox translated 'so e'en he can grasp it', with the note 'ἐπιμηθέως is objective, not subjective': I do not grasp this.

τῶι γέροντι: her husband (31-2).

96. *σύμποδ' ὦδε πηδεῦντα*: 'leaping here with his feet tied together'. K.'s energy will be confined. For ὦδε see 2. 98 n.

97. *πότνιαι*: the epithet may be applied to almost any female; to one Muse Pi. *N.* 3. 1.

*βλέπωσιν*: through the eyes of their statues (57 n.). Headlam reads too much into the word in introducing the idea that vengeance is better if conspicuous. Cf. in general the end of Ar. *Eq.*, 1407-8 *κακείνον ἐκφερέτω τις ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην, ἢ ἴδωσιν αὐτόν, οἷς ἐλωβᾷθ', οἱ ξένοι.*

## 4

**SUBJECT.** Two women with their slaves visit a temple of Asklepios to make a thank-offering to the god, and look at and describe the various sculptures and paintings which are to be seen, including a group by Apelles, who is defended against critics.

**CHARACTERS.** The names of the women and the parts spoken by each have been the subject of much controversy. The arrangement adopted in this ed. has been argued in detail in *CQ* N.S. xvi (1966), 118-21; it is an attempt to reconcile the defective data given by P with the language and characterization. One of the women is called Kynno: she makes the sacrifice, which poverty makes small, she has been in the temple before (39 sq.), and she vigorously defends Apelles. The other is probably named Phile: she is a stranger to the temple, and is very excited by the works of art, but in general she has a lesser role. One of the slaves is Kydilla (41), the other Kokkale or Kottale (P in 19 and 88 respectively; it is possible that P is correct in both places, so that there are three slaves, but more likely that it is wrong in one or other passage). The *νεωκόρος* of the temple makes a brief appearance to announce the success of the sacrifice (Headlam overstates his role). (Kokkale is generally taken to be the second woman, not a slave; but 19-20 sound like an order to a slave, not a request to a friend.)

**STRUCTURE.** The sacrifice and prayer occupy 1-20a, the announcement of its result and arrangements for the distribution of the victim 79-95. Between these stands the description of the works of art, divided by the customary abuse of the slave (39-56a). Ring-composition: *abcb*.

**PURPOSE.** The main section is the middle, the reaction of the women to the works of art and their praise of naturalness, culminating in the

eulogy of Apelles; the beginning and end are the frame in which this is set. It is widely supposed (so, e.g., Groeneboom) that Hds. here puts his own views into the mouths of his characters; but, while he may well have held such views on art, it is not necessary to see him abandoning his customary detachment, as the equation of naturalness and excellence is eminently appropriate in these poor and unsophisticated women (so Cataudella).

**SOURCES.** The initial prayer and final arrangements correspond closely to what would occur in real life in similar circumstances (nn. on 1-20 and 89 sqq.).

The *ἔκφρασις* appears throughout Greek literature: in epic (Il. 18, Hes. *Sc.*), in Sicilian comedy (Epich. *Θεαροί* 89-90) and mime (Sophr. *Θάμειναι τὰ Ἰσθμια*, 10), in Att. tragedy (? A. *Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί*, *Fr.* 15-23; E. *Ion* 184 sqq., 1141 sqq.), in Hellenistic poetry (Theoc. 1. 32 sqq., 15. 123 sqq., A.R. 1. 730 sqq.) and its Roman imitators (Catull. 64. 50 sqq., Virg. *Aen.* 6. 20 sqq., 8. 625 sqq.), and later. Hds. therefore stands in a long tradition, and there is no need to think on a particular source, such as Sophr. (cf. Gow's intr. to Theoc. 15, p. 265).

**SCENE.** An *Ἀσκληπιεῖον*, probably not further localized. (It is generally thought to be that in Kos: but the works of art described are not known to be connected with Kos and none of the works known to have been in that temple are here described, while the positive arguments advanced for this theory are, as Prof. E. W. Handley has pointed out to me, very weak. See *CQ* l.c. 115-17.)

**DATE.** Probably between c. 280 and c. 265 B.C., as can be deduced from the references to the sons of Praxiteles (who must have died by c. 265) and to Apelles (who must have died before 280) in 25-6 and 76-7. See *CQ* l.c. 117-18.

**1-20.** K. prays to Asklepios and the related gods to accept her thank-offering, however small it may be, and orders her slave to put it on the altar. The form of prayer corresponds to that used in real life: greeting (1), mention of the god's dwelling-places (1-2), his family (3-9), and associated gods (10-11), the actual prayer (11-13), and the reason for the offering (16-18) (cf. R. Wünsch, *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* vii [1904], 95 sqq.); the only variation is the insertion of an excuse for the meagreness of the offering (14-16). It is not therefore surprising that other prayers or hymns to Asklepios resemble this in some details (cf. Isyll., *Carm. Pop.* 47 Bergk, Androm. [E. Heitsch, *Gr. Dichterfr. d. röm. Kais.* ii] 169 sqq.). For Asklepios in general see Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* i<sup>4</sup>. 514 sqq., M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.* i<sup>2</sup>. 306 sqq., E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*.

1. **χαίροις**: opt. also in 4 and 6, but imp. in 9 (cf. also 58). The imp. is probably the more usual construction, and the opt. here used *metri causa* (R. Meier, *Philol.* lxxvi [1907], 156-9), but there is little difference between them; cf. in general Wackernagel i. 217. Headlam quotes many passages for the 'variation between the 2nd and 3rd persons . . . customary in invocations', but there is not really such variation here: only Asklepios, the main god addressed, is addressed directly; the others are mentioned in their relationship to him, indirectly.

**Παῖηον**: originally an independent physician (*Il.* 5. 401 with Leaf's note), he merged with Apollo and especially with Asklepios when these developed healing powers.

**μέδεις**: this verb is chiefly found in such phrases as *S. Fr.* 37 *Πόσειδον, ὃς . . . γλαυκᾶς μέδεις εὐανέμου λίμνας*, *Ant.* 1119. It should probably be so accented, not *μεδεῖς* (W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 678, followed by Knox, Cataudella, and myself in *CQ* l.c.): *μέδω* is the original form, *μεδέω* a later variation (Schwyzer i. 677), found in classical times only in the participle.

1-2. **Τρίκκης . . . Κῶν . . . κῆπίδαυρον**: the three main centres of the cult of Asklepios. No inferences about the scene of the piece can be drawn from the order in which they are mentioned or from the fact that Kos has an epithet (cf. *CQ* l.c. 116). Cf. 2. 97 n.

2. **γλυκεῖαν**: P has *γλυκην*, and similar forms are found in *Alc.* 34 (B 2). 5 (*εὐρην*), *Call. Epigr.* 42. 4 (*προπετῆην*), *Epigr. Gr.* 237. 5 (*τραχῆην*), but there is no reason to suppose them anything other than miswritings (for confusion of *ει* and *η* cf. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Pap.* i. 74 sqq.).

3. **σὺν καί**: a Hellenistic use (*LSJ* s.v. *σύν* C 2 fin., to which add *Theoc.* 7. 2). (Headlam thinks it is archaic, imitated from epic, but if so one would have expected at least one occurrence in the extant corpus.) Cf. the comparative independence of *σύν* in composition (Wilamowitz on *E. Her.* 832).

**Κορωνίς**: daughter of Phlegyas and mother of Asklepios by Apollo, killed by Artemis for infidelity (*Hes. Fr.* 60, *Pi. P.* 3. 8 sqq.). There were other versions of the story, and in some places Asklepios was thought to be the son of Arsinoe (*Sch. Pi. P.* 3. 14), while *Isyll.* identifies Koronis with Aigle, elsewhere Asklepios' daughter.

**κῶπόλλων**: i.e. *καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων*.

4. 'And she whose right hand you touch, Hygieia.' The personified Hygieia is normally (e.g. *Paus.* 1. 34. 3, *Suda* η 435) one of the daughters of Asklepios, but there was a variant tradition (*Orph. h.* 67. 6) that she was his wife, and the prominent position given to her here (and the subordinate position of *Epio(ne)*, usually his wife) suggests that it is being followed—a typically Hellenistic procedure. Herzog's claim that the positions are due to metrical necessity is not

convincing; and the passages quoted by Headlam (Artem. 2. 10, *AP* 7. 430, Thgn. 758) do not prove that anyone described as being on the right of someone else is that person's child. A statue in which Asklepios touches Hygieia with his right hand is preserved in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer* i. 66). The position is doubtless symbolic: healing (ὑγίεια) flows from the god's powerful right hand (cf. 18 n.).

5. 'And those to whom belong these honoured altars.' Cf. A. *Su.* 23 sqq. ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ, ὕπατοί τε θεοὶ κτλ. (where ὦν is often wrongly replaced by ὦ).

6. Πανάκη: 'remedy of all', a daughter of Asklepios, elsewhere in the form Πανάκεια (though Crin. *AP* 4. 273 has πανάκη for the herb elsewhere called πανάκεια); for the variation cf. Πενελόπη -εια, Περσεφόνη -εια, Meineke, *Anal. Alex.* 46, Lobeck, *Path. Prol.* 43 sqq.

Ἡπιώ: 'gentle one', apparently here a daughter of Asklepios (4 n.), elsewhere in the form Ἡπιόνη; for the variation cf. Εὐφρώ -όνη, Μνημώ Μναμόνα; -ώ is frequent in both personifications and hypochoristics (Headlam ad loc., Schwyzer i. 478. 6(1)). ἥπιος was an epithet of Asklepios (Lyc. 1054 with Sch.); and in Il. 4. 218 Machaon (9 n.) employs ἥπια φάρμακα, cf. Sol. 1. 60, A. *Fr.* 482, S. *Ph.* 698, and 18 n.

Ἡσώ: 'healing one', a daughter of Asklepios.

The syntax of this line is peculiar. The connectives necessitate understanding Πανάκη τε καὶ (Ἡπιώ τε καὶ Ἡσώ), the latter pair being regarded as a closely linked group; and the sing. χαίροι necessitates understanding all three as a unity. Herwerden's transposition of χαίροι before κῆπιώ removes the second difficulty and mitigates the first (which neither he nor anyone else mentions); it may well be correct.

7-9. Cf. Il. 2. 729-33 (in the Catalogue of Ships) οἳ δ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν, οἳ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην, πόλιν Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος, τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε, ἱητῆρ' ἀγαθῷ, Ποδολεῖριος ἥδ' Ἐμαχάων· τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.

7. Laomedon (Hds. Ionicizes the name) had the walls of Troy built by Apollo and Poseidon.

8. ἀγρίων νούσων: this combination also in S. *Ph.* 173, 265; the adj. means simply 'cruel, harsh' (not 'malignant', as *LSJ* s.v. II 3 b).

9. Μαχάων: the originally Aeol. form is all but universal thanks to the influence of Hom. (Schmidt 14-15).

10-11. An all-embracing formula to avoid giving offence to any god who might have been omitted in an enumeration of names.

11. Ἰλαεωι: cf. 26 Ἰλεως. The 'Att. declension' is also found in Ion. inscriptions (Thumb-Scherer, *Hdb. d. gr. Dial.* 171).

δεῦτε: a 'plural' form of δεῦρο, found in Hom. and sporadically later

in most classes of literature (including Call. *Fr.* 191. 9), with an imper. or equivalent; cf. 1. 82 n.

12. τοῦ ἀλέκτορος: the corrector wished τῷλέκτορος (as Call. *Epigr.* 43. 4 τῶνδρός, *Ap.* 1 and *Fr.* 194. 36 τῷπόλλωνος, and in Ion. inscriptions; I am indebted to V. Schmidt for these parallels, which I overlooked in *CQ* l.c. 123), perhaps rightly.

12-13. οἰκίης τοίχων κήρυκα: the cock is herald of the house in that his crow announces a new day and arouses the inhabitants (Luc. *Ocyr.* 114 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλέκτωρ ἡμέραν ἐσάλπισεν, Antip. Thess. *AP* 5. 3. 1-2 πάλαι δ' ἡῶιος ἀλέκτωρ κηρύσσω; conversely Demad. *Fr.* 4 calls the σαλπικτῆς the κοινὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀλέκτωρ), but in no sense could he be herald of its walls. It is not a pleonasm comparable to 7 (Crusius), nor is the fact that roosts were made on the walls (Headlam) relevant, nor does calling it a γρύφος and comparing Hes. *Op.* 524, 571, 742 (Puccioni) help to explain it. Richards's τρηχύν (cf. X. *An.* 2. 6. 9 τῇ φώνῃ τραχύς) and Stadtmüller's μόχθων (cf. Luc. *Gall.* 1 ὡς ἔχοις ὀρθρευόμενος προανύειν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων, spoken by the cock) are possible solutions. Meister's οἰκίῃ στοίχων is sufficiently refuted by Headlam.

13. τὰπίδορπα: what comes after the δόρπον, the dessert: the gods will need something more substantial for their main course. This form is found only here; ἐπίδορπῖς, -ισμα, and -ισμός also occur infrequently (see *LSJ* s. vv.); similarly ἐπίδειπνα and ἐπίδειπνῖς (in the same sense) are found.

δέξαισθε: rather less brusque and demanding than the imper. (*KG* i. 227), therefore suitable to her slightly ashamed offering of so small a sacrifice.

14. 'For our well is not at all abundant or ready-flowing.' πολλήν and ἔτοιμον (fem.) are exx. of 'die im griechischen sehr weit gehende verwendung des femininum für unbestimmte abstracta' (Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 681; cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 916, with further references); there is certainly no ellipse of πήγην or κρήνην or οὐσίην, because what one ἀντλεῖ is ὕδωρ ἐκ κρήνης, and ἀντλεῖν τὴν οὐσίην would mean 'squander one's possessions' (cf. S. *El.* 1291). For ἔτοιμον cf. Hdt. 5. 31. 2 ἔτοιμα χρήματα, Th. 1. 80. 4 (χρήματα) οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ιδίων φέρομεν. For ἀντλεῖν cf. Theoc. 10. 13 ἐκ πίθω ἀντλεῖς.

15-17. 'For (if it were) we should readily have made our thank-offering for the cure of sicknesses an ox or a sow heaped with much skin.'

νενημένην . . . πολλῆς φορίνης: the skin or crackling of a pig is a delicacy (cf. Diphil. 90 παρατίθημ' ὀλοσχερῇ ἄρν' ἐς μέσον σύμπτυκτον, ὠνθυλευμένον, χοιρίδια περιφόρινα κρομβώσας ὄλα), and there is no need to posit a unique sense 'flesh' for this passage (*LSJ*). The

genit. as in Ar. *Ec.* 838 αἱ τράπεζαί γ' εἰσὶν ἐπινευμέναι ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων.

χοῖρον: fem. as in 8. 2, Hippon. 102. 9, S. *Fr.* 230, Ar. *Ach.* 764 (Megarian speaking). Ath. 375 c is wrong in calling this use Ion.: χοῖρος is ἐπίκοινος, like most animal names in early Greek (cf. Wackernagel ii. 1 sqq.); χοῖρα is a later form.

For the contrasted offerings cf. Paus. 10. 32. 16 θύουσι δὲ καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἐλάφους οἱ εὐδαιμονέστεροι, ὅσοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἀποδέοντες πλούτῳ καὶ χῆνας καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μελεαγρίδας. Headlam shows at length that none of the animals mentioned had a special connection with Asklepios.

ἵητρα νούσων: cf. inscriptions from the Ἀσκληπιεῖον in Epidauros, *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 1. 121. 45 ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἵατρα, 560 τῷ τελεσφόρῳ Γάϊος ἵατρα, 571 τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ Γάϊος ἵατρα. (*LSJ* are wrong in separating this passage from these, translating 'doctor's fee'.)

17-18. 'Which you wiped away, O Lord, stretching out your gentle hands'. Cf. Sol. 1. 61-2 τὸ δὲ κακῶς νοῦσοισι κυκώμενον ἀργαλέησιν ἀψάμενος χειροῖν αἶψα τίθησ' ὕμῃ. Cf. in general O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*.

ἀπέψησας: ἀποψᾶν is to wipe anything off, and is an easy metaphor here. I do not see any need to consider it a substitute for ἀπομάσσειν in its purificatory sense (Headlam): curing physical diseases and mystical purification are not the same thing. Touch is in general important in religion and magic.

ἡπίας χεῖρας: ἡπιόχειρ is an epithet of Asklepios and of Hygieia. Cf. 6 n.

ὦ ἀναξ: hiatus in this phrase also in Phoen. 2. 19. The influence of the forgotten *f* lingers on in the ancient formula.

19. πίνακα: Str. 8. 6. 15 τὸ ἱερὸν (at Epidauros) πλήρες ἔχοντος (Ἀσκληπιοῦ) αἰετῶν τε καμνόντων καὶ τῶν ἀνακειμένων πινάκων ἐν οἷς ἀναγεγραμμένοι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ θεραπείαι, καθάπερ ἐν Κῳ τε καὶ Τρίκκῃ. Cf. Paus. 2. 27. 3, *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 1. 121. 24, 30.

20. τῆς Ὑγιείης: I prefer regarding this as a choriamb to scanning Ὑγ-, cf. Appendix III, 7; so Call. *Fr.* 203. 21. Either is better than reading Ὑγιίης and adding a totally superfluous τῶν before καλῶν (Palmer, Kaibel) (other suggested additions, such as Ellis's Ὑγιίης <μοι>, necessitate keeping μα; see below).

20-6. Ph. calls attention to a statue by the sons of Praxiteles, dedicated by Euthies. This is probably one inside the temple, not the group of Asklepios and his fellow gods before which K. has been praying, because (according to Lippold, *RE* xi. 1. 236) an altar-group is unlikely to have had a dedicatory inscription, and because ταύτην (21) seems to point to something newly seen. The sons of Praxiteles were Kephisodotos and Timarchos; their collaboration is recorded for statues of Lykourgos and his sons (Plu. *Mor.* 843 e-f) and of



Menander (Paus. 1. 21. 1 + *IG* ii. 137 sq.; cf. J. D. Beazley and B. Ashmole, *Gr. Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 144; G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, ii. 225).

20.  $\delta$ : P has  $\mu\hat{\alpha}$ , i.e. the  $\mu$  is deleted (this was first pointed out by L. Deubner, *Philol.* xciv [1942/3], 20).  $\delta$  *admirantis* is found in 7. 111, 117, B. 3. 10  $\delta$  *τρισευδαίωνων ἀνὴρ*, Thgn. 1013, Hippon. 117. 5, etc.  $\delta$  *μάκαρ*. It does not seem to be followed elsewhere by an exclamatory genit. (no more is  $\mu\hat{\alpha}$ ), but there can be no objection to it on this ground: such genitives are not 'dependent' on the exclamation, and may occur without one (e.g. Theoc. 15. 75 *χρηστῷ κοϊκτίρμονος ἀνδρός*).

Κυννοῖ: this form also in 30, 35, 52, 56, but in 60 *Κύννα*, in 71 *Κυννί* (all three forms are found elsewhere); a similar variation, *metri causa*, between *Κοριττοῖ* and *Κοριττί* in 6.

21.  $\eta\pi\alpha$ : this is here regarded by Hds. as the Ion. form of  $\delta\pi\alpha$ , and has like  $\delta\pi\alpha$  the same sense as  $\alpha\pi\alpha$  (Denniston 44 sq., Gow on Theoc. 7. 105). If the usual explanation of  $\eta\pi\alpha$  as a crasis of  $\eta$   $\alpha\pi\alpha$  is correct, and whatever the explanation of  $\delta\pi\alpha$ , this must be a false Ionicism. The usage of  $\eta\pi\alpha$  elsewhere supports this: it is either interrogative (as 5. 14) or emphatic and stands in first place (in Pi. O. 8. 46, P. 4. 78, N. 5. 30, I. 6. 55, 8. 59, where Schroeder and Snell read  $\eta\pi\alpha$  for  $\alpha\pi\alpha$  of the MSS., Boeckh's  $\alpha\pi\alpha$  should be accepted).  $\delta\pi\alpha$  is frequent after interrogatives, e.g. Archil. 161 *τίς  $\delta\pi\alpha$  δαίμων . . .*;

τὴν λίθον: for the gender of *λίθος* see *LSJ* s.v. II. Here a special piece of stone, a sculpture, therefore fem. (contrast 34).

22. τέκτων: of a sculptor, as E. *Alc.* 348.

ἐποίει: the regular tense in artists' signatures. P's ἐπόει is clearly a slip, despite Puccioni's defence (ἐπόει is out of the question at this date, and 49 κᾶεις is not comparable).

ὁ στήσας: the man who put it in its present place, dedicated it. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἵστημι A I.

23. Πρηξιτέλεω: the 'correct' genit. would be *Πρηξιτέλεος*, but it has been assimilated to the -εω of masc. *a*-stems (as *πολίτεω*); parallels from inscr., Hp., and elsewhere in Schmidt 70 sq. (see id. 72 sq. for the scansion -εῶ).

24. αὐτήν: sc. τὴν λίθον. P's αὐτὰ could refer neither to *γράμματα* ('the Greeks did not say *στήσαι γράμματα*' Headlam) nor to *ἀγάλματα* (which is very far off and probably refers to more than this statue); he was still thinking of the *γράμματ'* he had just written (a similar error in 26).

27-9. K. describes a statue of a girl looking up longingly at an apple. Similar scenes are preserved both in stone and on vases, but there is no reason to suppose a close connection between these and what is here described. Certainly one should not attempt to interpret the statue as especially appropriate in an *Ἀσκληπιεῖον*.

27. ἄνω: with βλέπουσαν, 'the order, as in 35-6, being disturbed by the speaker's excitement' (Headlam).

28. ἐρεῖς: where one might expect εἴποις ἄν; so 33, 57, 73, 5. 56, 6. 59, 67. The use is not uncommon, especially in descriptions; it is neglected by the grammars, but fully exemplified by Headlam, pp. 198, 206.

29. ψύξει(ν): P's ψύξει has frequently been defended as an anacoluthon, but that is hardly possible when αὐτήν is so close. ἐκψύχειν 'faint' is Ion. (Att. ἐκθνήσκειν).

30-4. Ph. starts to describe an old man, but is interrupted by K., who has noticed a boy with a χηναλώπηξ. (If no change of speaker is assumed in 30, and only one work is described, one has the difficult task of explaining both the change in gender from τὸν γέρ. to τὴν χην. and the point of τὸν γέρ.) Herzog, *Fahresh.* vi (1903), 215-36, identified the boy with the χηναλώπηξ with a statue of which replicas of the Roman period survive: in this a naked boy sits on the ground, stretching upwards with his right hand and looking in the same direction, with his mouth open, while his left hand rests on the neck of the bird. (Herzog also showed finally that the work of Boethos described by Plin. *HN* 34. 84, of which replicas exist, is not meant here: that had a boy, standing, holding a goose, not a χηναλώπηξ, by the throat, and Boethos is now definitely dated early in the 2nd cent.) Again there should be no question of an Asklepian interpretation.

30. ἀ: cf. 20, 7. 117. Even without a change of speaker this division would be much superior to the vulgate γέροντα.

πρὸς Μοιρέων: I. 11 n.

31. τὴν χηναλώπεκ': the Egyptian goose (D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, 330). The word is elsewhere masc. (though the fem. is a v.l. in Ael. *NA* 5. 30); cf. 15 n.

32. πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν: the statue is therefore on the ground in front of them.

γοῦν: only here in Hds. It is the normal 'part proof' use: this sentence gives evidence for the admiration implied in the previous one.

εἴ τι μὴ λίθος: I do not understand τι: 'to any extent', etc., seems quite out of place—it clearly is or is not stone. Headlam (here and on 2. 101) claimed that εἴ τι μὴ was a unified phrase meaning 'that is if not', as an afterthought: but in his exx. there is always a noun or verb to which τι refers (the order is of course normal, according to Wackernagel's law). The ellipse of εἴη is also unusual, to say the least; the grammars give no comparable example (the ellipse cannot be of εἰστί, which would be easily paralleled, because one can say 'if it is not stone, it will speak' only if there is a genuine doubt about the nature of the object). Perhaps careless writing by Hds.

33. ἐρεῖς: parenthetical. Richards's λαλήσειν is unnecessary.

33-4. Cf. Antip. Sid. *AP* 9. 724 ἡ δάμαλις, δοκέω, μυκῆσεται· ἦ ῥ' ὁ Προμηθεὺς οὐχὶ μόνος· πλάττεις ἔμποα καὶ σύ, Μύρων, Glauc. *AP* 9. 774 ἡ βάκχα Παρία μέν, ἐνεψύχωσε δ' ὁ γλύπτας τὸν λίθον. ἀνθρώπισκει δ' ὡς βρομαζομένα.

χρόνῳ: 'in time', Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 740.

35-8. Ph. notices another lifelike statue, of Batale daughter of Myttes—a name that no respectable woman would bear (for *Βατάλη* cf. 2. 75 n., for *Μύττης* cf. Hsch. μ 1990 μύτις· . . . καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐκλελυμένος).

35. γάρ: '(yes they will,) for (this statue is also lifelike).' Denniston 73-4.

36. βέβηκεν: 'stands' (*LSJ* s.v. βαίνω A I 2). Her position in the statue is exactly that which she really adopts; what this is we are not told. Knox thinks it indicates her character, and this is probably right, but his parallels are of the manner of *walking* showing dissoluteness, and that is not in point here (it is ruled out by the perf. tense, even if one admitted the hyperbole of a statue walking).

38. μὴ ἐτύμης δέισθω: 'she would not feel the need of the real B.' For *ἔτυμος* of the reality opposed to an artistic imitation cf. *AP* 6. 40 δὸς δὲ βόε ζῶειν ἐτύμῳ (as distinct from the models in bread which are being dedicated). Its use of verisimilitude in works of art (Gow on Theoc. 15. 82) is not relevant. *ἐτέρης* (accepted by Knox) is a less likely reading of the traces and is feebler in sense.

39-56. K. promises to show Ph. even greater wonders in the inner temple. She tells her slave to summon the attendant, and roundly abuses her for inattention and slowness. Before the order can be carried out, the curtain is opened.

41. νεωκόρον: originally 'temple-cleaner', this position later acquired greater status: the duties included general supervision of the fabric of the temple and giving information to visitors.

42. Kydilla makes no response. Cf. Ar. *Pl.* 926-7 (Karion to the sycophant) κατάθου ταχέως θοῖμάτιον. (The sycophant does not move. The δίκαιος ἀνὴρ interjects) οὗτος, σοὶ λέγει. ΚΑ. ἔπειθ' ὑπόλυσαι. ΔΙ. πάντα ταῦτα σοὶ λέγει. Men. *Eph.* 718-19 παῖδες, παιδίον, ἀνοιξάτω τις. παῖδες, οὐχ ὑμῖν λέγω;

ᾧδε κῶδε: Call. *Ephigr.* 28. 2 ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε φέρει, Autom. *AP* 5. 129. 4.

χασκεύση: Ar. *Lys.* 426-7 τί κέχηνas, ᾧ δύστηνε; ποῖ δ' αὖ σὺ βλέπεις, οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἀλλ' ἢ καπηλεῖον σκοπῶν; Men. *Dysc.* 441 ποῖ κέχηνas, ἐμβρόντητε σύ; Mnesim. 4. 21-3 μέμνησ' ἃ λέγω, πρόσσεχ' οἷς φράζω. χασκεῖς οὗτος; βλέψον δευρί. Most edd. accept Rutherford's χασκούση, but false Ionicisms are more likely to be due to Hds. than to a copyist (cf. 89 n.). Puccioni's idea that χασκεύση is a fut. part. from χασκάζω is impossible syntactically (and Hds. does not have contracted futures from verbs in -άζω).

43. *μή . . . πεποιήται*: Headlam rightly takes this as a statement following an oath, as in Hom. (e.g. Il. 15. 36–42 *ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα . . . μή δι' ἐμήν ἰότητα Πόσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων πημαίνει Τρωάς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα*) and Ar. (e.g. *Ec.* 999–1000 *μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, μή ᾿γώ σ' ἀφήσω*). The use of *μή* with indic. is explained by Wackernagel ii. 283: 'offenbar ist das beim promissorischen Eid Übliche auf den assertorischen Eid übertragen, analog dem *μή* c. inf. bei Verben des Schwörens.' It is true that in the other instances a clear oath precedes, but *μὰ* possibly retains enough of its original meaning (1. 84–5 n.) to serve as such. To take the line as interrogative (*vulgo*), 'do you think she has taken any notice?', makes the connection of *ἔστηκε δέ* in 44 impossible (*οὐκ, ἀλλὰ . . .* would be required).

*ῥῥην . . . πεποιήται*: Hdt. 9. 8. 2 *ῥῥην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν*. The periphrasis was necessary as no denominative was formed from *ῥῥη* (*ῥρέω* and *ῥρίζω* are grammarians' inventions).

*ῶν λέγω*: Hds. assimilates the relat. to the case of its antecedent only when the former should be accus. and the latter (expressed or unexpressed) is genit.: 5. 28, 50, 6. 57.

*καρκίνου μέζον*: a crab's eyes stand out from the head, and it stares in a vacant manner. Cf. X. *Smp.* 5. 5.

45. *φημί*: repeating a command, as 50, 5. 20, 8. 6.

46. *λαίμαστρον*: 'greedy thing', a term of abuse found only here. Words in *-τρον* are formed almost exclusively from verbs (Schwyzer i. 532. 3): as, e.g., from *ζώννυμι* (\**ζώσ-νυμι*) is formed *ζῶσ-τρον*, so, analogically, from *λαιμ-άσσω* or *λαιμ-άζω* (in which *-άσσω* and *-άζω* are mere suffixes, cf. 6. 97 n.) is formed *λαίμασ-τρον*; similarly *στέγασ-τρον* from *στεγ-άζω*. For such formations applied to persons cf. Ar. *Pax* 652–6 *κεῖ πανοῦργος ἦν, ὅτ' ἔζη, καὶ λάλος καὶ συκοφάντης καὶ κύκηθρον καὶ τάρακτρον, ταῦθ' ἀπαξάπαντα νυνὶ τοὺς σεαυτοῦ λοιδορεῖς*. There is no reference to any particular instance of greediness by Kydilla: simply generalized abuse.

46–7. *οὐτ' ὀργή σε κρηγύην οὐτε βέβηλος αἰνεῖ*: *βέβηλος* (reduplicated from *βη-* as in *ἔβην*) is used first of ground which may be walked on, i.e. profane as opposed to hallowed, then of a person who is unhallowed, *ἀμύητος*, or impure. The polar expression (exemplified by Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 1106) demands that *ὀργή* means the opposite of this; *αἰνεῖ* (below) almost demands a personal subj.: therefore the noun to be supplied will be *γυνή* (Bücheler, Crusius, Nairn, and Groeneboom) rather than *γῆ* or *χώρα* (Blass, Meister, Headlam, and Puccioni). Although no adj. *ὀργός* is otherwise known, it is implied by *ὄργια* and *ὀργεών*; whatever the original meaning may have been (probably 'one who does', connected with *ἔρδω* and *ἔργον*, then 'one who practises religious rites'), it will here mean 'pious'. In view of this the conjectures *ὀργεών* (Headlam *olim*) and *ὀργεύς* (Diels; the form is

probably not found, as in Lys. *Fr.* 112 ὀργε(ών)ων should be read; in A. *Fr.* 413 ὀργέων is theoretically possible, but ὀργεών much more likely) are superfluous. Others are false: ὀργάς Headlam, assuming that γῆ is to be supplied; ὀρτή Blass *olim*, Kaibel, Weil, but βέβηλος cannot be used of a period of time; ὀργή Knox, but this gives no proper antithesis to βέβηλος. (In *CQ* N.S. xvi [1966], 122 I obelized ὀργή, but now explain it as above, which was written before I saw Schmidt 109 sqq., who reaches the same conclusion; he notes that ὀργός, as a *nomen agentis*, must denote a person, and shows that ὀργάς, which ὀργῇ γῆ is taken to mean, refers to sacred ground only by misinterpretation.)

κρηγύην: 'good', also in 6. 39. The word is a Homeric γλώσσα (Il. 1. 106 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρηγυον εἶπας), whence later writers derive it, some in the correct sense, others misunderstanding it as 'true'. Its use in choliambics by Hds., Call. *Fr.* 193. 30, Theoc. *Ep.* 19. 3, and Phoen. 1. 4 suggests that it was used by Hippon. See M. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 33-4 and n. 24, and, for a complete list of exx., Headlam on 6. 39.

αἰνεῖ: 'praises'. The meaning 'speak of, mention', which has frequently been assumed for this and other passages, is not in fact attested (for A. *Ag.* 98 and 1482 see Fraenkel, who on the latter passage deals also with *Ch.* 279, 1014; for *Ch.* 192 see Headlam; for S. *Ph.* 1380 see Jebb; in A. *Fr.* 193. 1 'praise' is correct), and there is no need for it here. Cf. 3. 75.

47. πανταχῇ δ' ἴση κείσαι: 'but everywhere you are valued equally'. P. has either ἴση (Palmer, followed by Blass, Meister, and Nairn in his Budé ed.) or ἴκη (εἰκῇ Crusius, followed by Groeneboom, Herzog, and myself in *CQ* l.c.): I now prefer the former on the grounds that it is the rather likelier reading, that with εἰκῇ ('everywhere you lie in confusion') the contrast with the preceding is less obvious, and that after πανταχῇ one would expect the iota to be written in εἰκῇ. ἴση must be taken as 'equally worthlessly', which given the context seems not impossible. κείμαι is the pass. of τίθημι used as in Alex. 15. 13 διὰ τοῦτο <τὸ> τάριχος τέθεικας διπλασίον. Schmidt 114 also accepts ἴση, but translates 'überall liegst du gleich träge herum'; but such a predicative use of ἴση is not sufficiently defended by his example, *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 10 τί τοιαύτη κάθησαι;

48. Cf. Men. *Sam.* 474 μαρτύρομαί σε, Λοξία, *Fr.* 801 μαρτύρομαι τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονὶ καὶ τὰς θύρας (where Meineke and Koerte are probably wrong in adding ναὶ μά before τόν).

49. 'That you inflame me though I don't want to swell up.' An infuriated mixture of metaphors. For οἶδεῖν of anger cf. Men. *Fr.* 712 ὠιδουν τ' ἐν ἐμαυτῶι, which is apparently the passage behind Hsch. s.v. ὠιδουν· ὠργιζόμεν ἐπ' ἐμαυτῶι, ἡγανάκτουν. So ἀνοιδεῖν

in Hdt. 7. 139. 1, etc., οἰδάνειν in Il. 9. 646, and θυμοῖδης in A. Fr. 530. 32.

50-1. A common form of expression in threats and warnings: Il. 4. 164 = 6. 448 ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώληι Ἴλιος ἱρή, S. Fr. 1128 ἔσται γὰρ ἔσται κείνος αἰῶνος χρόνος ὅταν . . ., etc. In these, as in phrases like Hdt. 3. 155. 2 οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ἀνὴρ . . . τῶι . . ., the article is not used.

51. Why will she scratch her head? Puzzlement is the most frequent reason for such an action (e.g. Aeschin. 2. 49), but that will not do here: we require the result of some punishment. Perhaps K. simply threatens to beat her on the head, though that does not really explain the scratching (rubbing might be expected). Herwerden suggests that she is to be branded and that 'verba intellegenda sunt de obducta vulnere nondum plane sanato cicatrice, cuius uredo faciat ut digito partes laesas scalpamus'. This seems probable.

τῶσυρῆς is unexplained. The correction of Blass and Danielsson, τῶσυρῆς = τὸ ἄσυρῆς, gives good sense and has been widely accepted, but the first *υ* and the correction at the end in P are left quite unaccounted for. Other attempts are: τῶσυρόν = τὸ αὖσυρόν (cf. αὖσιος) Crusius *olim*; τῶυ (= τὸ αὖ, cf. τὸ νῦν) Σύρος Meister; τῶυ (= τὸ οὐ) συρ(ε)ῖς (συρεῖς corrected to συρεῖ) Blass later (possible and perhaps preferable as a reading, but of obscure meaning).

52. 'Do not be readily grieved at everything.'

καρδιβαλλεῖ<sup>ου</sup> apparently P (read by Edmonds), i.e. -βάλλει corrected to -βαλοῦ or -βολοῦ (any correction of the *α* would probably no longer be visible). βάλλει being impossible, we have to choose between καρδίη<ι> βαλεῖ (Kaibel) and καρδιβολεῖ. The latter is preferable: (1) the aor. imp. in prohibitions is unusual; (2) the pres. is better in a general prohibition; (3) such phrases with βάλλεσθαι usually have a prep. (Il. 20. 196 ἐνὶ θυμῶι, Hdt. 7. 51. 3, *al.*, ἐς θυμόν). (1) might be overcome by reading βάληι (Blass), (2) by reading βάλλει (Headlam *olim*), but these are greater changes. Hsch. κ 798 preserves the alternative form καρδιοβολεῖσθαι (cf. Schwyzler i. 438) and καρδιοβόλος is known as a medical term.

53. νωθρίη: from νωθρός. The Att. form is νώθεια from νωθής. All are used of sluggishness of both body and mind.

54-78. K.'s attention is distracted from the slave by the opening of the inner temple. They inspect the works of art to be seen there, especially a painting by Apelles.

54. 'But it is day and the crush is getting worse.'

ἀλλ' ἡμέρη: cf. E. Rh. 518 νῦν μὲν καταυλίσθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὐφρόνη. Daybreak was a common time for sacrifices to be made.

ὤθειται: cf. Theoc. 15. 73 ὠθεῖνθ' ὥσπερ ὕες (see Gow). The impersonal pass. in a tense other than the perf. is unusual, but not

impossible: it is most frequently found in Ion. religious inscriptions (see Wackernagel i. 147, Schwyzer ii. 239. 4), e.g. σπένδεται, οὐ παιωνίζεται (also A. Fr. 279. 3). Exception has been taken to the mention of a crowd only here: one may reply that it is relevant only here.

The above is the generally accepted interpretation of Bücheler. Other explanations are: (1) The line refers to the slave (Hicks and others), 'she is gentle and is progressing with a little pushing'. Apart from the sense given to ὠθεῖται (Tyrrell and Kaibel invent νωθεῖται), this involves giving the line to Ph. against P, and even then the connection is harsh. (2) 'It is day, and the door is pushed open more and more' (W. J. Verdenius, *Mnem.* s. 4, vi [1953], 139). Tautologous with 55, and θύραν ὠθεῖν is naturally to push open a door against resistance (so in Lys. i. 24, E. Or. 1561-2, Ar. V. 152, cited by Verdenius), which is not in point here. (3) 'Day has come and is being pushed further' (Ellis, Danielsson), a highly unnatural expression.

55. ὤικται: the only occurrence of this tense. Blass wrote ὤεικται, but see Schmidt 80 sqq.

56. κἀνεῖτ' ὁ παστός: 'and the curtain has been unfastened'. The inner temple is separated by a curtain as in Clem. Al. *Paed.* 3. 2. 4. 3. παστός always means 'curtain' or 'bridal chamber', never *tabernaculum* (as Headlam, Knox, and Puccioni, following earlier scholars, take it): see Felix Solmsen, *Indg. Forsch.* xxxi (1912-13), 485 sqq. Headlam's objection to 'curtain', that ἀνεῖται cannot mean 'is raised', is unfounded: a curtain does not need to be raised to be opened.

57. κεῖ 'νῆν: it seems likely that P has κόινην, and that this must be interpreted as κεῖ 'νῆν. For κεῖ see i. 26 n.; for the imperf.—'what works they are, and were before we knew them'—see *KG* i. 145-6. In the alternative κεῖν ᾗν or ᾗν (Rutherford) κεῖν conflicts with the following ταῦτ'. Most edd. read an adj. agreeing with Ἀθηναίην (κοινήν vulg., καινήν Ellis, κείνην Danielsson), but this weakens the sentence, which ought to begin with ταῦτ'. See also Headlam and *CQ* l.c. 124, *CR* n.s. xxi (1971), 23.

Ἀθηναίην: the goddess of skilled workmanship, as in 6. 65, 7. 116.

58. χαίρω δὲ δέσποινα: χαίρειν normally expresses a greeting to someone present either in person or, if a god, in a statue (as at the beginning of this poem, Men. *Dysc.* 401 τὸν Πάνα χαίρειν): can it do so here? It can, if it is assumed that Ph. suddenly sees a statue of the goddess she has just mentioned. This interpretation not only preserves the correct sense of χαίρειν but gives a reference for γλύψαι (which cannot refer to the following description, see below). Virtually all edd. make χαίρω δὲ δέσποινα an apology for the previous statement (cf. i. 35, 6. 35), but do not attempt to justify this sense of χαίρειν. Meister took χαίρω correctly, but this has been overlooked in the

general and correct dismissal of his interpretation of the works of art as Egyptian.

59-71. There is no break in the description, which is therefore of one work—a painting by Apelles, as emerges in 72-3. This depicts a sacrifice; a boy is in charge of a fire, an ox is being led in, and several attendants stand by. Apelles' painting of *Megabyzi sacerdotis Dianae Ephesiae pompa* (Plin. *HN* 35. 93) must have been somewhat similar.

59. κνίσω: this is the reading of P, despite what many edd. say; the σ, superficially like a γ, is the same as that in e.g. 76 ος and 88 καλως, as Blass and Meister saw.

60-2. 'For the flesh is laid on him, pulsing like warm, warm springs, in the panel.' Similarly a painting of Apelles is described by Luc. *Im.* 7 as μὴ ἄγαν λευκὸν ἀλλ' ἔναιμον ἀπλῶς.

γᾶρ οἷ is the probable scansion, see Maas *Gr. Metre* § 133.

θερμά θερμά: if the text is correct, one must suppose an ellipse as in X. *HG* 4. 5. 3 κατὰ τὰ θερμά προσήκει; the ἀναδίπλωσις lends emphasis; of admiration also in Call. *Epigr.* 28. 5 Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχῃ καλὸς καλός. However, the comparison between the rippling water and the pulsing flesh seems rather odd, and the fact that the second θερμά is added above the line in P, perhaps by a later hand, increases one's doubts. Meister's θερμά <λουτρά> is little improvement; Stadtmüller's θερμὸν αἶμα is better. Headlam took θερμά as an adv. with πηδῶσαι, but this ignores οἶα.

62. τῶργυρευν: for the accent (most edd. write τῶργυρεῦν) see Schmidt 42.

πύραυστρον: W. Vollgraff's explanation (*Mnem.* lv [1927], 104-8) of P's πύραστρον is convincing: an ancestor had ΠΥΡΑΥΣΤΡΟΝ, in which the υ was mistaken for an indication of a short syllable (no other can account for υ appearing over a patently long syllable). πύραυστρα appear in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 47. 18 (Piraeus, iv B.C.) in a list of implements. The — calls attention to the rare quantity, compounds of πύρ normally having ῥ; but cf. A. *Fr.* 597 πύραυστης and Schmidt 103.

63. ἴδησι: such subj. forms are not uncommon in Hom., occasional later, mainly in Ion. (cf. Lobeck, *Path.* ii. 263), and readily corrupted.

Μύλλος: one who ἐπὶ μωρίαι ἐκωμωιδεῖτο (Hsch. λ 1405 etc.). Μύελλος, the correction offered by P and accepted by most edd., is not a known name.

Παταικίσκος: Παταικίων was noted for συκοφαντία, κλοπή, and τοιχωρυχία (*AB* 298. 5; cf. Leutsch on Apostol. 14. 13).

The significant names are clearly intentional: M., the fool, supposes the silver to be real, and P., the covetous thief, believes him.

64. ἐκβαλεῦσι τὰς κούρας: their eyes will stand out of their sockets in wonder and greed.



65. ὄντως: an Att. word, cf. Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 610.

ἀργύρευν: adj. and genit. are interchangeable in such expressions; cf. Semon. 7. 21 τὴν δὲ πλάσαντες γήνην, while the other types of women described are made ἐκ . . . , and Headlam here.

66. κῶ: P's χο, though defended by Crusius, Nairn, and Groeneboom, and as κῶ by Meister, can hardly be correct: it implies a full elision κ(αἰ) which is without parallel in Hds. κῶ also in 67, but 2. 97 κῶσκληπιός, 4. 3 κῶπόλλων; cf. Gow on Theoc. 1. 72.

67. γρυπός: 'hook-nosed'.

ἀνάσιλλος: 'with his hair sticking up'. Cf. Poll. 4. 138 (in a description of types of θεράποντες) ὁ δὲ ἀνάσιλλος (ἀνάσιμος A) ὑπέρογκος, ξανθός· ἐκ μέσου (μετώπου Jungermann) ἀνατέτανται αἱ τρίχες· ἀγένοιός ἐστιν, ὑπέρυθρος· καὶ οὗτος ἀγγέλλει. The correction is accepted by Nairn, Knox, Cataudella, and Puccioni: most other edd. read ἀνάσιμος 'snub-nosed' with P<sup>1</sup>, on the ground that this gives the required contrast with γρυπός: but no contrast is required, and ἀνάσιλλος is *lectio difficilior*.

68. ζόην βλέπουσιν ἡμέρην P: with this text either ζόην or ἡμέρην may be noun and the other adj. (P's accent ζόην does not help to decide how he took it, as the accent of both ζοη and ζοος was [and is] disputed); in the first case (Crusius), 'peaceful life' (cf. Pi. *N.* 9. 44 αἰὼν ἡμέρα) does not agree well with the following lines; in the second (Bücheler), 'living day' is a strange and unparalleled expression. Hicks's correction is slight and probably correct (approved by Groeneboom, it has been put in the text only by Knox; but several other edd., e.g. Headlam and Cataudella, in fact translate it though keeping the reading of P). The accusatives are internal, 'have the appearance of life and day'; an elaboration of Il. 18. 61 ζῶει καὶ ὄρῃ φάος ἡελίοιο etc.

69. 'If I did not think that my action would be too presumptuous for a woman.' Herodas' women are all concerned with outward respectability.

The aor. infin. in a fut. or potential sense after *verba dicendi et sentiendi* is well established: Od. 22. 35 οὐ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι, Theoc. 27. 61 φῆις μοι πάντα δόμεν, and other passages are unemendable; there is therefore no logic in changing to the fut. or inserting ἄν where metre allows (I leave aside the question of prose). The pres. infin. has no such certain example: but there is no difference of principle, and where MSS. present such a pres., as here and, e.g., A.R. 3. 548 δοκέω δέ μιν οὐκ ἀθερίζειν, it should be kept. Anyone who does not accept this may choose between πρήξειν (Richards) and ἄν for τι (Headlam). Cf. in general Schwyzer ii. 296.

ἡ γυνή: an unusual expression; normal would be ἡ γυναῖκα χρῆ

(e.g. E. *Heracl.* 979 τὴν φρονοῦσαν μεῖζον ἢ γυναῖκα χρῆ) or γυναικός (e.g. Men. *Fr.* 562 δοῦλος μεῖζον οἰκέτου φρονῶν). I do not think any particular verb (such as εἰωθε or δικαίως ἂν πρήσσοι) is to be supplied: rather Hds. has resolved the usual genit. into ἦ + nomin. Similar may be 6. 34, q.v.

70. ἀνηλάλαξ' ἄν: 'I should have cried aloud', in fear. (ἀν)αλαλάζειν is normally used of a war-cry or a cry of joy, but occasionally of darker emotions: *LSJ* s.v. ἀλαλάζω I 3 (some of the exx. have been unnecessarily altered; here van Leeuwen *apud* Herwerden and W. A. C. Vreecken, *Mnem.* lvii [1929], 191-2, would punctuate strongly after ἄν and make Ph. think of shouting in admiration, then express her fear: but then K.'s reply has no point of reference).

71. οὔτω: a certain correction, cf. 3. 71 n. Wilamowitz's objection (*Textg. d. gr. Buk.* 251 and *GV* 291 Anm. 2) to οὔτω before a vowel is unfounded: it is so placed, scanned οὔτῳ, in Il. 3. 169, Od. 3. 315, and A.R. 1. 900. Whether Hds. thought of this as a case of crasis or of aphaeresis can hardly be determined.

ἐπιλοξοῖ: 'glares sideways'. Cf. Sophr. 49 λοξῶν τὰς λογάδας, Nic. *Alex.* 222 λόξαις δὲ κόραις ταυρώδεα λεύσσω. For the emotion expressed by such a look see Gow on Theoc. 20. 13.

τῇ ἐτέρῃ κούρῃ: cf. Ar. *Ec.* 498 παραβλέπουσα θάτέρῳ. For the dat. Headlam compares *inter alia* A. *Pers.* 687 ὀρθιάζοντες γόοις, 1050 ἐπορθιάζει νυν γόοις, but *Ag.* 28 ὀλολυγμὸν . . . ἐπορθιάζειν.

72-8. This defence of Apelles clearly implies that he had been attacked as unable to treat certain subjects.

72. Ἐφεσίου: he was an Ephesian θέσει, being originally from Kolophon (*Suda* α 3008). So Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ῥόδιος was not a native of Rhodes. Anapaest in the proper name, or scan Ἐφεσίῳ (2. 82 n.).

χεῖρες: 'workmanship', as 6. 66, 7. 24.

73. Ἀπέλλεω: the hyperbaton is bold, but not suspicious. It is a combination of the common type where an epithet and its noun are separated by an adv. (normally with verb) and the type represented by Pl. *R.* 401 b τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰκόνα ἦθους. Ἀπέλλεω cannot be taken with γράμματα, because Ἐφεσίου without article cannot stand by itself (it would mean 'of any Ephesian'), and because γράμματα means not 'pictures' but 'lines'—his work is truthful in every detail.

74. ἐν μὲν εἶδεν, ἐν δ' ἀπηρνήθη: 'looked at one thing (for a subject), but rejected another'. Headlam takes the sense of εἶδεν to be 'looked with favour on', but this goes too far: in his parallels, with divine or virtually divine beings as subject, the idea of favours comes from the context. Palmer's εἶλεν is specious, but it is the wrong verb. ἀπηρνήθη is certainly deponent, not passive: apart from the late attestation of (ἀπ)αρνεῖσθαι as pass. (Jebb on S. *Ph.* 527), 'he was denied another' is not Greek (Jebb l.c.) and 'another was denied

him' involves a very harsh change of subject. Those who adopt this view compare II. 13. 729 ἀλλ' οὐ πως ἅμα πάντα δυνήσεται αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι and 16. 250 τῷ δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατήρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀπένευσε: this implies, and Groeneboom explicitly states, that this clause should express a continuation of the preceding statement of Apelles' perfection; but equally well it may introduce the new idea of non-selectivity in subject, which is continued in 75, and the natural rendering of ἐν δ' ἀπηρνήθη shows this to be correct.

75. 'But whatever came into his mind, he was quick and eager to attempt.'

ὦι = ὁ οἱ, cf. Ar. *Th.* 426 (? Men. *Sik.* 78) ὠικότρυψ and E. *Cyc.* 560 ὦινος (*prob. lect.*).

οἱ ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο: cf. Hdt. 9. 46. 3 καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν . . . ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, I. 71. 4 οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιεῖουσιν Πέρσησι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς, Thgn. 633 ὁ τοί κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθῃ.

καὶ θέων: cf. II. 6. 54 ἦλθε θέων, 24. 74 ἀλλ' εἴ τις καλέσειε θέων Θέτιν (where the vulgate is the feebler θεῶν, as here, cf. below), Pl. *Lg.* 799 c οὐκ ἂν ποτέ που . . . συγχωρήσειεν ἐπιδραμῶν οὕτως εὐθύς.

ψαύειν: cf. Plb. 18. 36. 1 τῶν γὰρ παραβόλων καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐφίενται μὲν πολλοί, τολμῶσι δ' ὀλίγοι ψαύειν.

Paton's explanation of ωι as a crasis of ὁ οἱ is accepted by Headlam and subsequent edd.: it gives the simple and obvious sense required. If ὦι is the relative pron., it must be taken with ψαύειν (Bücheler) or as 'the man to whom (the idea of criticizing Apelles) comes' (Crusius) or as 'with that which came' (Diels), all of which are decisively refuted by Groeneboom. The latter's own idea of reading —ἄλλωι ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο!—, 'let it come into the mind of another (to say that of Apelles)', would require ἀλλά, not καί, to follow. The interpretations of Crusius, Diels, and Groeneboom, and the conjectures εἰ (Rutherford) and ὅτ' (Wilamowitz, E. *Her.* ii. 252 Anm.) also require the reading θεῶν, which is indefensible.

θέων was conjectured by Ellis and (apparently independently) by Headlam: all other edd. write θεῶν, which they generally take with ψαύειν, meaning (1) 'to paint gods' (Bücheler), or (2) 'to attack the gods' (Crusius), or (3) 'to reach perfection' (Diels). Against (1): if καὶ means 'even', Headlam rightly says: 'It is not as if painting Gods had been a rare audacity: everyone did so'; and if καὶ means 'also', the implied criticism is ridiculous—Apelles' most famous work was of Aphrodite ἀναδυομένη. (2) involves a grammatical irregularity, ἡπείγετο without ἄν, and a gross hyperbole. (3) has been generally accepted since F. Nencini (*Riv. di fil.* xlv [1916], 406-8; cf. J. Mesk, *Philol.* xcii [1937], 469-70) pointed out that Synesius *Ep.* 142 says σὲ μὲν γάρ, ὄντα τοιόνδε, καὶ ἡμιθέων ψαύειν οὐκ ἀπαικός, and that the equivalent οὐρανοῦ ψαύειν is put into the mouth of Apelles by Plu.

*Demetr.* 22. 6: but Headlam again rightly says that ἡπείγετο then gives a poor sense—‘we can have nothing to do with his anxiety for artistic success’. Knox reads καὶκ θεῶν with γένοιτο, but καί is meaningless.

76. ἐκεῖνον: Apelles himself, as well as his work, is to be above criticism.

77. παμφαλήσας: ‘gazing excitedly’. An old Ion. reduplicated form, borrowed by Hds. from Hippon. 164, as it is also by Lyc. 1433; A.R. 2. 127 and Eryc. *apud* Sch. A.R. will have taken it from Anacr. 137 (482). (In Hsch. ε 4162 Ruhnken’s ἐπαμφάλησεν for ἐπαμφάδῃσεν is, *pace* Latte, plausible, and may give the exact form used by Hippon. or Anacr.)

ἐκ δίκης: the idea of source is completely lost, and the phrase is equivalent to an adv., as in 5. 58, 8. 42 ἐκ βίης.

78. ποδὸς κρέματ’: such a punishment is mentioned by S. *Ant.* 309 and frequently in New Com. (e.g. Men. *Fr.* 129, Ter. *Andr.* 861; cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* ii. 464), and is depicted on a vase published in *Att. Mitt.* xiv (1889), 151, where in a potter’s shop a man is hung from the roof by one foot and one arm.

ἐν γναφέως οἴκω: it is implied that he will receive the treatment accorded to dirty clothing, which according to Hp. *Vict.* 1. 14 οἱ γναφέες . . . λακτίζουσι, κόπτουσι, ἔλκουσι. Further the κνάφος was used as an instrument of torture (Hdt. 1. 92. 4).

79–85. The νεωκόρος announces the success of the sacrifice.

79. Cf. Ar. *Av.* 1118 τὰ μὲν ἱέρ’ ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ὦρνιθες, καλά.

ἐντελέως: perfectly in accordance with ritual. Cf. S. *Tr.* 760 ταυροκτενεῖ μὲν δώδεκ’ ἐντελεῖς ἔχων . . . βούς.

80. ἐς λῶιον ἐμβλέποντα: ‘looking on the better side’. For λῶιον, especially suitable in a religious context, see Wilamowitz on E. *Her.* 196.

80–1. Doubtless a conventional remark.

ἥπερ οὖν: ‘than in fact’, closely similar to the use described by Denniston 421: ‘οὖν, following περ, is sometimes used after relative adjectives and adverbs (in particular, ὥσπερ) . . . to stress the correspondence between idea and fact’.

82. ἰή ἰή: originally merely an exclamation, denoting grief or joy according to context, ἰή became especially associated with the worship of Πανήων (already in *h. Ap.*, frequent in Pi. *Pae.*, the *Epid. Hymn.*, and Call. *h. Ap.*). The hiatus is normal in such cult cries.

83. ἐπ’: ‘on the occasion of’.

84. ἔασ’: a Homeric form, contributing to the solemn, archaic effect of the line.

ὀπυιηταί: ᾤπ. λεγ. It must be formed from an unrecorded \*ὀπυία ‘marriage’, not directly from ὀπυίειν. The latter is an epic and legal word (Sol. and *leg. Gort.*; ὀπυστός also in Cretan).

γενῆς ἄσσον: i.e. ἀγχιστεῖς. For the genit. cf. Luc. *Cat.* 17 ἄγχιστα τοῦ γένους, A. *Supp.* 388 ἐγγύτατα γένους, S. *Ant.* 174 γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεῖα.

85. A regular type of concluding formula; cf. S. *OT* 1096 ἡμε Φοῖβε, σοὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέστ' εἴη, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 217.

86-95. One of the women echoes the prayer with the normal hope that she may be able to come again with more sacrifices, and instructions are given for the distribution of the sacrifice. The speaker is probably K., who as the sacrificer naturally refers again to the smallness of the offering (implied in 87 μείζον' and 89 σκελύδριον) and makes the final arrangements. The *paragraphos* in P at 88 will then point to the change of addressee (cf. 2. 46 n.).

86. εἴη γάρ: 'amen'. Cf. 6. 80.

μέγιστε: of course Asklepios (Terzaghi and Puccioni refer it to the νεωκόρος, which is impossible and inappropriate).

κῦγι: ὑγίε(σ)ιά (later ὑγίεια) may have a variant ὑγῖα (cf. εὐτύχεια and εὐτυχία), which becomes by contraction ὑγῖα (cf. Schwyzer i. 248), found in inscriptions and papyri (see *LSJ*) where the spelling ὑγεία shows the quantity. Rutherford's simple correction has been widely and rightly accepted instead of a doubtful anapaest (cf. 2. 82, 4. 72 nn.).

87. ἴρ' ἀγινεῖσαι: cf. Call. *Fr.* 194. 36 ἐπὴν τὰ τῶπόλλωνος ἴρ' ἀγινῆται, and the repeated ἀγινήσουσ' ἐκατόμβας in *h. Ap.* (57, 249, 260, 289, 366).

89. τεμεῦσα: this, like 5. 54 δραμεῦσα and possibly 6. 90 πιεῦσα, is formed from the aor. τεμεῖν by false analogy with ποιεῦσα from ποιεῖν, helped by the similarity of the Att. participles τεμοῦσα and ποιοῦσα (Pisani); χασκεύσῃ in 42 takes the process a stage further. τεμοῦσα (Blass and many edd.) is unnecessary.

σκελύδριον: for the formation cf. ἔλκῦδριον, μελύδριον, τειχύδριον. It is purely diminutive (not contemptuous, as Headlam): she is apologetic, as always, for the size of the offering. The leg was the normal part of the offering given to the priest or his deputy as γέρας.

90-1. In addition to the god's human servant, originally his animal representative had to have a share in the sacrifice: Asklepios' holy serpent was given a πελανός, a mixture of meal, honey, and oil, through a hole in the top or side of its den. In time however (by the early fourth century at least) the transaction was formalized into a gift of money, placed in a collection-box which had an effigy of the serpent on top; but the old terminology was retained, so that πελανός comes to mean ὀβελός and τρώγλη τοῦ δράκοντος the hole in a θησαυρός. The archaeological and literary evidence which proves this is collected by Herzog, *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* x (1907), 205 sqq.; cf. also Meuli, *Philobol.*

*Von der Mühl*, 209 n. 6. (Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 129 n. 66, rejects this, but Herzog's arguments are overwhelming).

εὐφήμως: 'in holy silence'.

92. ψαιστὰ δεῦσον: sc. μέλιτι or οἴνῳ. Barley-cakes dipped in honey or oil were placed on the altar for the god (*Ar. Pl.* 679 sq., *R. Wünsch, Arch. Rel. Wiss.* vii [1904], 114 sq.).

οἰκίης ἔδρη: probably 'at home', the periphrasis being similar to *A. Eu.* 11 *Παρνησοῦ ἔδρας*. Kaibel and Wünsch think it refers to a building within the precinct (the remains of a sacrifice were frequently taken home, but in some cases could not be removed); but a general celebration at home is suggested by δαισόμεθα.

93. ἐπὶ: of course with λάθῃ.

94-5. No certainty seems possible as to the interpretation of these lines, and serious corruption must be assumed. It is probable that they are spoken by the same person as the preceding lines, as the part of the νεωκόρος (to whom Headlam gives 93 αὐτῇ or 94 τῆς to the end; Kalinka gives 95 λῶι to the end; Barigazzi gives 93 καὶ to 94 ὑγίης; and Galiano and Gil give 94 δῶ) is surely finished with the prayer in 85. Splitting them up between the two women produces no good result.

ὑγίης: this (and 95 ὑγίη) is generally taken to mean 'holy bread', the ψαιστὰ after it has been offered to and blessed by the god, ἡ διδομένη ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶζα ἵνα ἀπογενύσωνται (*Ath.* 115 a; cf. *Wünsch l.c.* 115 sq.). This is necessary if it is the partitive object of φέρειν, but

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if it goes with πρόσδος or whatever lies behind δωι, it may simply mean 'health'.

δωι, corrected to λωι, *P.* (1) With the first reading, δωι has been taken as dat. of δῶς, 'for a gift' (*Diels*; no oblique case is attested, but one would have expected the stem to be δωτ-, as *dat-* in *Skt.* and *dōt-* in *Lat.*), as aor. subj. of δίδωμι, 'let him (the νεωκόρος) give' (*Crusius, Herzog*; for the construction see 7. 106 n.), and as crasis for δ' ὃ οἶ, as in 75 (*Knox, Cataudella*; δ' is inexplicable); *Ellis* and *Galiano* and *Gil* read δῶ, 1st pers. subj. (2) With the correction, λῶι or λῶι is regarded by *Meister*, followed by *Kalinka*, as an adv., 'nach Wunsch', connected with λῆν and standing to λῶιος as πρῶι and ῥάι (ῥᾱι) to πρῶιος and ῥάιος; *Rutherford*, and *inter alios* *Groeneboom* and *Barigazzi*, read λῶ, 'I wish', either with the genit. ὑγίης or parenthetic with πρόσδος = βούλει (neither construction is paralleled; and *Hds.* is highly unlikely to have used such an out-and-out *Dor.* word). (3) Conjectures: νῶι *Crusius olim*, τῶι *Puccioni*, λ(έ)ωι *Laloy*, μοι *Headlam*, τῆς δ' ὑγίης πρόσδος *Danielsson*. *Meister's* explanation is perhaps the best, but I find none at all attractive.

πρόσδος: 'bestow, hand out'. A dat. of the recipient might be

expected, but is not essential (cf. Ar. *Pax* 1111 οὐδεὶς προσδώσει [μοι] τῶν σπλάγχνων;).

ἱροῖσιν: ncut. ('to holy men' Headlam, but that is incredible without qualification).

95 as it stands is unmetrical. Some have removed the extra syllable by scanning ἀμαρτίης, but there remains ὑγίη (86 n.), which features also in many proposed emendations. The third letter of the line has generally been taken to be Z, but the traces clearly suggest a circular letter, i.e. in the context Θ or C. μέσων does not seem helpful, but with μεθ' ὧν (with P's common aspiration) there is the possibility of reading ἀμαρτεῖ (Meister; it is no objection in Hds. that ὀμαρτ- occurs in 66; for the construction cf. Ar. *Pl.* 823 ἔπου μετ' ἐμοῦ); its subject would be ἡ ὑγίη, but that could easily be understood from the preceding clause, and the metrical difficulty suggests that its appearance in the text may be due to an explanatory insertion, perhaps to fill up the line after an omission of, e.g., ἡσ<ίς ἐ>στι, 'for certainly at sacrifices followed by ὑγία there is pleasure at one's lot' (ἡσις is known only from lexicographers; ἡδος or ἡδονή would be less neat palaeographically). But this is all highly speculative. Most edd. suppose the sense to be 'holy bread is greater than the loss (ἀμαρτίης; ἀμαρτεῖν Headlam) of one's portion', or 'holy bread is greater along with an adequate (ἄμ' ἀρτίης) portion', reading μέζων.

## 5

SUBJECT. Bitinna, who has been living with her slave Gastron, accuses him of infidelity. He alternately denies the charge and pleads for forgiveness, but she is determined to punish him, and orders him to be bound and taken to be flogged. Then she has second thoughts and calls him back: he is to be tattooed also. But she is beginning to relent, and when Kydilla, another slave who is more like a daughter to her, intervenes on his behalf, she agrees to remit his punishment, at least for the present.

CHARACTERS. B. is a woman driven to frenzy by sexual jealousy. She uses the crudest language and the punishments she threatens are impossibly harsh. But her anger is not deep-rooted and implacable: it is probably cooling a little by 53, and when she is offered an excuse not to proceed she seizes it.

G. is the pawn in her hands, ready to deny or excuse, whichever seems most to his advantage at the moment.

K. is apparently a more attractive character ('the only pleasant

person in the piece' Headlam): she berates G.'s warder for treating him roughly, and she pleads for mercy for G., suggesting (80) an excuse for postponing his punishment. And yet it may be, as Dalmeyda and others suggest, that she too acts out of self-interest: when G. is back in favour he will be a powerful person, and it will be well to have been on his side (Dalmeyda's further idea that such scenes are frequent in B.'s household is based on a false interpretation of 5). Attempts to read deeper subtleties into the piece should, however, be rejected (as Barigazzi's suggestion, based on a remark of Crusius, that K. is in love with G.: there is no evidence for this).

**PURPOSE.** The portrayal of neurotic fury and its pacification.

**SOURCES.** The union of free woman and slave is well documented in ancient life and literature (cf. Headlam, pp. xlv-xlvi), but on Herodas' direct source we are for once fairly certain: he took his subject straight from the mime-tradition. Apart from the statement of Aristokles (see Intro. II, § 5) that one of the subjects of *μαγωιδία* was *γυναικας* [καὶ] *μοίχους*, there is the mime preserved on the verso of *POxy.* 413: see Intro. II, § 17. Though there are great differences from this piece (so great as to rule out Page's view, unlikely in itself, that the author had Hds. as a direct model), it is clearly in the same tradition.

**TITLE.** Complete clarity demands *H ZHAIOTYΠOΣ*, as the word is used of both sexes; but our ignorance of the circumstances of the original production and/or publication makes it impossible to say if this has any significance or not.

**SCENE.** No evidence (cf. *CQ* N.S. xvi [1966], 115 n. 6).

**DATE.** No evidence.

**1-53.** B. accuses G. of infidelity, and despite his repeated protests orders another slave Pyrrhies to bind him and take him to be flogged.

**1. Γάστρων:** originally a term of abuse, 'fatty' (so Alc. 429 [Z 106], Ar. *Ra.* 200), this became, as nicknames are wont to do, a name in which the original significance was forgotten (so *PHib.* 167, Polyaen. 2. 16). But here it is chosen deliberately: it suggests at once the pampered slave, and perhaps also his sexual appetites (Herzog quotes *Trag. Adesp.* 186 *πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκωι γαστρὸς αὔξεται Κύπρις* and E. *Fr.* 895 *ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶντι δ' οὐ*).

**ἦδ':** sc. *κέρκος* (45 n.). G. stands naked (44-6). In recitation the ellipsis would be explained by a gesture. If it is felt to be too abrupt, Bücheler's *εἰ δ'*, accepted by Headlam, Knox, and Cataudella, provides an easy solution (the *δ'*, far from being senseless as Puccioni



thinks, would be highly idiomatic: see Headlam and Denniston 174-5);  $\epsilon\iota\langle\varsigma\rangle\delta'$  would then be desirable (Appendix II, 15 (5)).

2. **σκέλεα κινεῖν**: this expression shows the origin of the use of  $\kappaινεῖν = βινεῖν$ . (The exx. are collected by Headlam here; add Ar. *Eq.* 364,  $\kappaινητιῶν$  in Men. *Dysc.* 462, and  $\kappaινητήριον$  in Eup. *Dem.* 25. Those who persist in reading  $\betaιν-$  everywhere forget not only this passage, where  $\betaινεῖν$  is impossible, but also that confusion of  $\beta$  and  $\kappa$ , common in minuscule MSS., is less credible in papyri.)

3. **Ἀμφυταΐη**: certainly a free woman, as the name 'has a noble sound, for the only name akin to it is *Ἀμφυτος* the Laconian, one of the charioteers of the Dioscuri' (Headlam). She may be either the wife or the daughter of Menon.

**ἔγκειμαι**: 'you are devoted to'. Cf. Theoc. 3. 32-3  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ \delta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\gammaκειμαι$ , with Gow's note. An obscene sense (so *LSJ*) is unlikely.

4. P at first assimilated *Ἀμφυταΐη* to *τῇν*, then let his eye stray to the line above; he noticed the second error, but not the first. The surprised and protesting repetition with omission of verb is very common, e.g. Ar. *Pl.* 391-2  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \Pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omega}\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\chi\theta\eta\rho\epsilon\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ . —  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \Pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ; *Ἀμφυταΐην* has been defended by understanding  $\kappaινεῖν\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (Crusius), which is obscure, or by taking everything up to  $\gammaυναι\kappa\alpha$  as one question (Bücheler and Herzog), which places a false emphasis on  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ . Defence of *Μένωνος* (either with  $\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  [Crusius, Meister] or with  $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  [Puccioni], the latter of which gives a split anapaest in a dubious position) is bad method: P has obviously made a mistake, which is carefully corrected.

5. The only person who is 'drawing out excuses' is G., therefore Rutherford's attribution, accepted by Headlam and Knox, is correct: B. interjects a contemptuous rejection of his claim. Most edd. follow P in continuing to G., and understand *προφάσεις* as 'pretexts' (but B. has put forward an accusation, not a pretext) or 'complaints' (which it cannot mean). For the expression cf. Hdt. 6. 86 *προφάσις*  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\kappa\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ , Ar. *Lys.* 726-7  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ .

6. Cf. X. *Eph.* 2. 5. 4  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\ \delta\tau\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \chi\rho\acute{\omega}\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\acute{\nu}\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu\ \delta\pi\omega\varsigma\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\acute{\nu}\iota\zeta\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \sigma\eta\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\omicron\iota\mu\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\mu\iota$ .

**Βίτιννα**: a rare name, whose presence in Hdn. Gr. ii. 455. 10 may derive from Hds. (cf. 9, 6. 25 nn., Schmidt 48).

**<μοι>**: the necessary object of  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}$  (Knox inserts it after  $\delta\tau\iota$ , comparing Hippon. 3. 3  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ , which does not in the least justify him).

7. 'Do not drink my blood night and day', i.e. do not constantly worry me with such accusations. The metaphor (from the habit of

leeches, Theoc. 2. 55-6 *τί μεν μέλαν ἐκ χροός αἶμα ἐμφὺς ὡς λιμνᾶτις ἄπαν ἐκ βδέλλα πέπωκας*; or snakes, S. *Ant.* 531-2 *κατ' οἴκους ὡς ἔχιδν' ὑφειμένη λήθουσα μ' ἐξέπινες*) is common. Despite X. Eph. quoted on 6, an erotic sense (so Winter, *De mimis Oxyrhynchicis* 29 sq. and Puccioni) is unlikely after *χρῶ ὅτι βούληι*.

**τό μεν αἶμα**: Hds. places the genit. of a personal pron. between article and noun here, 39, and 6. 41 (as against at least 12 exx. of the normal order). The following certain exx. are given by *KG* i. 619 Anm. 1, Nairn here, and Headlam on 6. 41: Anacr. 76 (421), Hippon. 73. 4, Hdt. 2. 133. 2, 9. 50, S. *OT* 62, 1458, Ar. *Av.* 1110, Call. *Dian.* 139, Theoc. 5. 2. (A. *Ch.* 279 should not be included: whatever the correct reading may be, it is not *τὰς δὲ νῶιν νόσους*. In Ar. *Lys.* 168 Wilamowitz and Coulon are probably correct in accepting Blaydes's *ἀμῶς* for *ἀμῶν*. Ar. *Lys.* 416 is doubtful: Meineke's transposition, adopted by Coulon, is pointless, but that of Porson, adopted by Wilamowitz, removes another anomaly, *δακτυλίδιον*; cf. however 3. 19 n. Exx. in Th. and Isocr. are easily and correctly emended: see *KG* l.c.). Headlam thinks the order is Ion. and Dor.: rather it is a sporadic survival of original freedom, which has been generally restricted.

8. The same line in 3. 84 with the variation *ῥοσην* (so Rutherford here, perhaps rightly).

9. **Κύδιλλα**: a slave also in 4. One would have supposed the name to be from *κῦδος*, but it has *υ* in 41 and 60: did Hds. derive it from *κύδος*, *κυδάζω*? It is a rare name, also in Hdn. Gr. ii. 455. 4 (cf. 6, 6. 25 nn.).

**'στι**: I accept the correction, but without great confidence. Headlam's argument against *μοι*, that *ποῦ 'στι* asks for information and *ποῦ μοι* is equivalent to a command, 'come here', is not borne out by his exx.: in E. *Ba.* 1211-12 *ποῦ μοι πατήρ ὁ πρέσβυς; ἐλθέτω πέλας. Πενθεύς τ' ἐμὸς παῖς ποῦ 'στιν*; there is no difference between the two questions, and both are real questions: Agaue is genuinely puzzled at the absence of her father and son from her moment of triumph.

*μ'* = *μοι*, as in Hom. and, e.g., Hippon. 38. 2 *τί μ' οὐκ ἔδωκας χρυσόν . . .*;

10. **τί ἔστι**: an allowable hiatus in all types of poetry.

**ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔστηκας**; B. expects instant obedience, even before the order is completed. Cf. Men. *Sam.* 104-5 *εἴσω παράγετε ὑμεῖς· ἀπό-πληχθ', ἔστηκας ἐμβλέπων ἐμοί*;

11. **ἱμανήθρη**: 'well-rope', *ἄπ. λεγ.* for *ἱμονία* (for the relationship of the forms see Frisk s.v. and s.v. *ἱμάς*).

**τοῦ κάδου**: genit. of separation.

12-13. Cf. S. *Ant.* 484-5 *ἦ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀνὴρ, αὕτη δ' ἀνὴρ, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀνατὶ τῇδε κείσεται κράτη*.

12. σ': in second place in the colon, cf. 3. 73 n.

13. θῶ μᾶ: μᾶ between the cola is not objectionable, and the fact that P marks the word by a circumflex or a space except here and 59 proves little against it. Hence Vogliano's specious θῶμαι is unnecessary, and against it is the fact (Headlam) that παράδειγμά τινα ποιεῖσθαι or τίθεσθαι means 'to take someone as an example', while 'to make an example of someone' is π. τινα ποιεῖν.

14. ἦρ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον Φρύξ; 'Is not this rather the case of the Phrygian?' An elliptical reference to the proverb Φρύξ ἀνὴρ πληγεῖς ἀμείνων καὶ διακονέστερος (2. 100 n.); cf. Luc. *DMort.* 6. 2 ἄνω γὰρ ποταμῶν τοῦτό γε, 'this is a case of rivers running up'. She means, 'I should have had you beaten long ago'. This is the explanation of Crusius, *Unters.* 100, accepted by Groeneboom and others. Crusius later referred to the proverb μᾶλλον ὁ Φρύξ, but that means 'the Phrygian knows better', which gives no sense here. Headlam and Knox understand ἂν εἶην, 'would I not rather be a Phrygian, i.e. sexless': but (1) the ellipse is strange and one would expect the previous construction to be continued with Φρύγα (sc. θές με), (2) Φρύξ on Headlam's showing may mean 'eunuch', but that is not applicable to women, and (3) the relevance of the remark is not clear.

15. ἦ σε θεῖσ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις: 'servus res erat, sed Gastronem amoris sui beneficio hominem fecerat domina' (Herwerden). In other contexts it would naturally mean that he had been freed (and so Headlam takes it here), but that this is not the case is clear from 6 δοῦλός εἰμι, if from nothing else.

17. μῶρην: P has μῶραν. It is easier to suppose Atticization and miswriting of ' than to introduce μῶρον (Headlam; the μακρόν would then represent an original circumflex; μῶρος fem. in E. *Med.* 61).

18. B. repeats her command: Pyrrhies has hesitated, apparently waiting for assistance, hence εἰς σύ 'you alone' (cf. Gow on Theoc. 7. 125).

η

δυσον P, having read to the end of the line.

ἀπληγίδ': for this form of cloak see Pearson on S. *Fr.* 777. G. will have worn it instead of the slave's normal garment, the ἐτερομάσχαλος χιτῶν, in virtue of his favoured position in the household.

19. σε: the personal accus. after δέομαι, by analogy with other verbs of similar meaning, recurs only in Th. 5. 36. 2 ἐδέοντο Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδώσουσι (often thought corrupt, but see J. I. Beare, *Hermath.* xiii [1905], 80-2). Cf. in general *KG* i. 400.

δεῦμαι: so δεύμεθα Pittac. *apud* D.L. 1. 81 (Theoc. 30. 32 is doubtful, see Gow).

20. ὅτεύνεκ': 'that', after *verba dicendi et sentiendi* also 6. 62, 7. 45,

and in the Att. form *δοῦνεκα* twice in E. (*Alc.* 796, *Fr.* 326) and commonly in S.

21. *τρεῖς* . . . *μνᾶς*: a reasonable price for a domestic slave.

*ἔθηκα*: *LSJ* s.v. *τίθημι* A II 8.

*γινώσκειν*: P has *γινωισκιν*, a false form offered also by the papyrus of Arist. *Ath.* 53. 2, 54. 2 (cf. W. Crönert, *Mem. Gr. Herc.* 48. 3).

22. Exclamatory *ὥς* in wishes is rare outside epic (*E. Hipp.* 407, *Call. Fr.* 110. 48; *S. El.* 126 doubtful) and probably derives thence.

24. Pyrrhies is still hesitating.

*πάντα*: sc. *ποιούντα*, as in *Thphr. Char.* 25. 5 *πάν μᾶλλον* (sc. *ποιεῖν*) *ἢ μάχεσθαι* and the common *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ* (*KG* ii. 567 m).

25. *σύσσιγγε*: P's *συσφιγγε* is probably the result of misreading C as Γ, and not to be defended as an unparalleled assimilation (Crusius, Groeneboom, and Puccioni). Others write *σύσφιγγε* with Headlam. Cf. A. *Pr.* 58 *ἄρασε μᾶλλον, σφίγγε, μηδαμῇ χάλα*.

*ἔκπρισον*: 'saw them off', i.e. tie the rope so tightly that it cuts into his flesh. So S. *Aj.* 1030 *ζωστήρι πρισθείς* of Hector tied to Achilles' chariot (where edd. assume a meaning 'gripped' which loses the force of the metaphor).

26 *sqq.* G., having pleaded innocence in vain, now pleads for mercy. The change is not lost on B. (36-7). Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 852-3 *unam hanc noxiam amitte: si aliam admisero unquam, occidito*.

27. Cf. Men. *Fr.* 432 *ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἡμαρτον· οὐ θαυμαστόν*, Petron. 130. 1 *fateor me, domina, saepe peccasse: nam et homo sum et adhuc iuuenis*.

28. *ἔλθις τι δρῶντα*: *με* is easily understood from the preceding; cf. S. *OT* 461 *κἂν λάβητις ἐψευσμένον, φάσκειν ἔμ' ἤδη μαντικῆς μηδὲν φρονεῖν*.

*θέλθις*: elsewhere Hds. has *ἄν* with the subj. in relative sentences (1. 31, 3. 80, 5. 43, 6. 25). Cf. *GMT* § 540, *KG* ii. 426.

*στίξον*: B. takes up this suggestion in 65. Tattooing was a mark of disgrace (Phoc. 225 *στίγματα μὴ γράψις ἐπονιδίζων θεράποντα*) for runaways (Ar. *Av.* 760), *ιερόσυλοι* (Pl. *Lg.* 854 d), and other wrongdoers (Ar. *Ra.* 1511). Cf. Crusius, *Philol.* lxii (1903), 125 *sqq.*, Barns and Lloyd-Jones, *Stud. Ital.* xxxv (1963), 222.

29. The construction of course is *πρὸς Α.*, *μὴ πρὸς ἐμέ, ταῦτα πλ.*, with omission of the second *πρὸς* exactly as in A. *Ag.* 925 *λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ*, and *ταῦτα* 'adverbial' (Terzaghi and Puccioni construe *πρὸς Α. ταῦτα λέγε, μὴ 'μὲ πλ.*, but *πληκτίζομαι* is not transitive).

*πληκτίζου*: 'flirt'. The word is profusely illustrated by Headlam. It is constructed with *πρὸς* and accus. or with the dat.

30. *ἀλινδῆι*: 'roll about', clearly erotic; the same sense apparently in *Call. Fr.* 191. 42 *μέλλοντας ἤδη παρθένους ἀλινδεῖσθαι* (though the context is obscure; Kassel, *Rh. Mus.* cxii [1969], 100, plausibly

conjectures ἤδη <’ν>); and Headlam cites S.E. *M.* 1. 291 συγκυλίνδεται γυναικί.

εμ... η ποδόψιστρον: the last word is certain (cf. A. *Ag.* 926) and the first is probably ἐμ(έ), with the sense ‘you treat me like a door-mat’; but the verb is uncertain. The proposals compatible with the traces are: (1) ὄνη<ι> F. D. (Blass, Nairn *olim*, Groeneboom), an unparalleled and irregular contraction of ὄνοσαι; (2) οψη Knox *apud* Headlam, conjecturing ἐμὲ φήις; (3) κρη Edmonds, who claims there is a ν above ρ, which I cannot see, and reads κνηι; (4) χρή Milne, who, followed by Cataudella and Puccioni, supposes an aposiopesis, while Knox assumes a lacuna of a line beginning ὑμέων γενέσθαι. The last is the best, but it remains speculative.

32. ζήτρειον: the place where the ζητρός (= δημόκοινος Hsch. ζ 151) carries out his duties. *EM* 411. 33 cites the word from Eup. 19 D., Theopomp. Com. 63, and here (Herodas’ name being corrupted to ‘*Ἡρόδοτος*’), with the information that Oros accented ζήτρειον, but Origines ζητρεῖον. For the scansion ζητρεῖον cf. Alex. 174. 6 γήτειον (γῆθιον Meineke, needlessly); ζήτριον should not be written, as the etymologist suggests.

33-4. ‘And bid him hammer in a thousand blows into his back, and a thousand to his belly.’ Such a punishment would of course kill him, and B. probably does not mean it seriously. The accus. with εἰς and the dat. are employed for stylistic *variatio*. For ἐγκόψαι cf. 3. 78 ἐμφορήσαι.

τὸ νῶτον: P has τόν, intruding the later form against the metre, as has happened in many MSS. of Ar. *Av.* 497, *Pax* 747.

36. πρῶτον: ‘before’, with ἐλέγξασα (*LSJ* s.v. πρότερος and πρῶτος B III 3 c).

37. Some edd. speak of an interrupted construction, but it is rather a quizzical interrogation, ‘and what you just said . . . ?’ J. Jackson, *Marg. Scaen.* 186, gives some exx. from drama.

ιδίη: ἴδιος of a part of one’s own body is unusual (γλώσσης ιδίας in E. *Ion* 101 is ‘private conversation’, if the text is sound).

39. γάρ: ‘(I said that,) for’.

κατασβῶσαι: contracted from -σβοάσαι (cf. 3. 23 βῶσηι, 4. 41 βῶσον). σβοάω, probably a deverbative from σβέννυμι (root σβεσ-), is otherwise attested only in Hsch. ζ 166 ζόασον· σβέσον, cf. ib. 164-5, 167 (in this the ζ = zd; the I.E. root began zg<sup>w</sup>: g<sup>w</sup> becomes in Greek β before back vowels, δ before front, but either may be analogically extended to preserve a paradigm; here ζέννυμι, σβοάω would be the original distribution, but most dialects generalized σβ-, while some generalized ζ-). (Against other views see Schmidt 84 sqq.)

χόλην: the normal expression is σβέσσαι χόλον (Il. 9. 678, etc.), but if bile can ἐπιζεῖν (Ar. *Th.* 468) it can also be extinguished.

40-53. B. ignores the feeble explanation, and repeats her command for punishment in more detail.

40. To Pyrrhies. Cf. 4. 44, 10 above and Men. *Sam.* 105 cited there.

41.  $\theta\lambda\eta$  . . .  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$ : cf. 7. 6  $\Theta\Lambda\eta$  is Headlam's brilliant and certain correction of P's  $\omicron\Delta\eta$ .  $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$  is properly the snout of an animal, especially a pig, used contemptuously of the human nose by Hds. and in comedy (Ath. 95 a-e).

42.  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\epsilon\rho\kappa\tau\epsilon\omega$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\pi$ .  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ ., though the variant form  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$  and in the same sense  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , and commonly  $\pi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  are found. For  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ - and  $\pi\alpha\nu$ - see Schwyzer i. 437 ( $\gamma$ ). Internal hiatus (because of the original  $\rho$ ) as in  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\epsilon\rho\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$  and several compounds in  $-\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ . The reference is to Pyrrhies.

$\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$ : P originally wrote  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ , but it is  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\epsilon\rho\kappa\tau\epsilon\omega$ , not  $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , which requires specification. This outweighs the observation of W. Schulze (*Kl. Schr.* 679) that slaves are otherwise in Hds. addressed or indicated by  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , not  $\omicron\delta\epsilon$ .

$\Delta\rho\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$ : perhaps a Scythian name, as  $\Delta\rho\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega\nu$  and  $\Delta\rho\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\nu$  are Scythian rivers (Headlam).

43.  $\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\epsilon\iota$  ( $\tau\eta\iota$ )  $\sigma\omicron\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ : haplography and intrusion of the  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$  form  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$  have produced P's reading (this is easier than to  
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suppose with Headlam that THICAN became COIEAN). Blass's  $\phi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\omicron\iota$   $\sigma'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , once popular and revived by Puccioni, is paleographically simple (only C > E), but the indic. is out of place.  $\tau\eta\iota$  as rel. adv. is common in Hdt.

44.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\iota$ : the normal Ion. form is  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (found in an Erythraean inscr.):  $\alpha\rho\phi$ - > (Att.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho$ -), Ion.  $\bar{\alpha}\rho$ -, the change of  $\bar{\alpha}$  to  $\eta$  having been completed before the loss of  $\rho$ . The form here has been explained (1) as a hyperionicism by Hds. (Meister), (2) as an example of 'Kompositionsdehnung' with the Att.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho$ - as base (Brugmann *apud* Meister), (3) as an example of 'popular regressive assimilation' (Puccioni). (1) is probably correct, (2) is unjustified (Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 951), (3) is eccentric. Schmidt 39 sq. would correct to  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\iota$ , but the error may be Herodas'.

45.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ : this and 6. 14 are the earliest exx. of the development of 'nameless' to 'unmentionable' (later in D. Chrys. and Aristid.). So  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$  in Hom.

$\kappa\epsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\nu$ : the metaphor also in Ar. *Th.* 239; so  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  S. *Fr.* 1078, and *cauda*.

46.  $\delta\iota'$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ : '(as he goes) through the agora'. A slight inconsistency appears in B.'s attitude: he is to be made a public example (12-13), and part of this is being paraded in public (an idea widely exemplified by Headlam), but she does not now wish his degradation to be complete.

47. τὸ δεύτερον . . . πάλιν: as δεύτερον αὖ in Hom. (e.g. Il. 3. 332).  
 49. ἀκήκουκας; so ἀκήκοας; in Philem. 41. (Above the final α P has not an acute but a horizontal line.)

50. παραστείξῃς: στείχειν is an old word, surviving only in Ion. (hence in trag.) and Aeol., roughly equivalent to βαίνειν. Hence Hds. uses the compound in the transferred sense 'transgress' normal in παραβαίνειν. The 1st aor. is also found in Od. 4. 277 περιστείξας, elsewhere the 2nd aor. στιχεῖν is used.

51. 'You will yourself pay both principal and interest', i.e. you will pay for it to the utmost. Cf. Men. Fr. 198. 8-9 οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀναβολὰς ποιούμενοι οὗτοι προσαποτίνουσι τοῦ χρόνου (τὰρχαίωι Hirschig, recte?) τόκους.

52. παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλῃς: the parallels collected by Headlam (e.g. Lys. 12. 12 ἐρωτῶσιν ὅποι βαδίζοιμεν· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ) strongly suggest that οἰκία is to be understood, and that Meister's explanation, 'auf der Wegen der M.', i.e. 'auf Umwegen', from some Mikkale 'die erst auf langen Umwegen zum Ziele kam', is wrong. But who M. is is uncertain. Rutherford thought she was 'some acquaintance, whom B. wishes not to know anything of her quarrel with G.'; this, as Hicks saw, would intensify the change in B.'s attitude noted on 46, but it would be very abruptly expressed. Headlam sees a connection with Μικύλος, a typical poor artisan (e.g. Crates Theb. 5 Diehl, Call. Epigr. 26), hence 'through the by-lanes': this is possible, but one would like another example of Μικκάλῃ; ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰθεῖαν certainly suggests that this is the general sense.

53. τὴν ἰθεῖαν: a common phrase, originally with an ellipse of ὁδόν, probably no longer felt to be elliptical (cf. 1. 13 n.)

53-68. B. orders the party to be recalled, and this is done by K. The reason is ostensibly to order a further punishment, but in fact her resolution is weakening.

53. οὐ δ' ἐπεμνήσθην: what she has remembered is stated in 63 sqq. Cf. 6. 42, where ἐπεμνήσθην has the normal post-Homeric sense 'mentioned'; here 'remembered' is required, as in Hom. (e.g. Od. 1. 31 τοῦ δ' γ' ἐπιμνησθεῖς). ὑπεμνήσθην (Headlam) is possible but hardly necessary (for confusion of ἐπί and ὑπό cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 69 sq.).

54. δραμεῦσα: 4. 89 n.

55. γενέσθαι: of distance also in X. Cyr. 4. 3. 16 πρὶν πάνυ πρόσω αὐτὸ (θηρίον) γενέσθαι, metaphorical in E. Hec. 372 σὺ δ' ἡμῖν μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν γενῇ.

Πυρρίης: the vocat. elsewhere is the regular Πυρρή; the nomin. form here by assimilation to the following τάλης (Schmidt 90-2).

τάλας, κωφέ: it is hard to accept Headlam's distinction that τάλας is an interjection, κωφέ a true vocat.; rather τάλας is used as vocat.,

as in Pi. *Fr.* 157 ὦ τάλας ἐφάμερε, A. *Pr.* 595, E. frequently, etc. In 3. 35 n. and 7. 88 the form is *τάλης*, and so Knox reads here—possible, but not necessary.

56. *καλεῖ*: in this household it is unnecessary to say who!

56–7. K. puts in an aside before continuing to address P. If Jackson's *ἔλκει* in 58 were correct, the aside would continue to 59 *ἀνάγκας*: but a general 2nd pers. immediately after *τις* is unlikely.

*σπαράσσειν*: he is dragging him along as an animal does its prey.

*σημάτων φῶρα*: one capable of stealing from tombs would deserve the harshest punishment. *τυμβωρυχεῖν* was the inevitable consequence of burying valuable objects with the dead.

59. *ἀνάγκας*: 'torture', as Hdt. 1. 116. 5 *ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας*.

60. *τοῖς δύο*: sc. *ὀφθαλμοῖς*, explained by a gesture. Cf. 6. 23 n. For the emphatic expression cf. Od. 20. 233–4 *σοῖσιν δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐπόψεαι . . . κτεινομένους μνηστῆρας*.

*ἡμερέων πέντε*: 'within a week'. Cf. 1. 10 n.

61–2. 'In Antidoros' workshop rubbing against your ankles those Achaean items which you recently put off.' P. has therefore until recently been working in chains, perhaps in a mill (cf. Men. *Her.* 2–3 *προσδοκῶν ἀγωνιᾶν μυλῶνα σαντῶι καὶ πέδας*). *Ἀντίδωρος* may be a significant name, 'he who gives (punishment) in return (for wrongdoing)', but it is common without such intention.

*Ἀχαιϊκός*: in the first instance 'from Achaea' (though why chains or fetters should be so described is unclear), but with the further connotation (Crusius) 'painful' (as in *Δημήτηρ Ἀχαιία*, for which see commentators on Ar. *Ach.* 709). A joking reference to the Homeric *ἐυκνημίδες Ἀχαιοί* (Bücheler) is also possible. For the form (*Ἀχαιικός* > *Ἀχαιϊκός*) see Schwyzer i. 265–6, Schmidt 8.

*πρῶν*: the same word is attested in the form *πρῶν* from Call. *Fr.* 219 and in the form *πρᾶν* from Theoc., *al.* It is apparently contracted from *πρώην* (Hom. etc.), and therefore P, with no *ι*, is correct against those grammarians who quote Call.; Theoc. will have formed *πρᾶν* on the analogy of *πρώτος*: *πρᾶτος* (a false analogy, cf. Schwyzer i. 595, but Theoc. could not know that).

*ἔθικας*: Headlam quotes Hdt. 1. 10. 1 *τιθεῖσαν τὰ ἱμάτια* (of Kandaules' wife being observed by Gyges) and late writers (add Ev. *Jo.* 13. 4). The sense is not recognized by LSJ (who quote Hdt. l.c. most misleadingly, p. 1790 b 12).

*τρίβοντα*: cf. *πεδότριψ* and *compedium tritor* (Plaut. *Pers.* 420).

63–4. 'You there [P.], come back here again with him [G.] bound just as you are taking him away.'

65. B. decides that he should be tattooed, as he himself had suggested in 28.

*Κόσιν*: a Thracian name. Thracians thought it honourable to be



tattooed (Hdt. 5. 6. 2), hence it is natural to find one of that race in this profession.

**στίκτης:** ἄπ. λεγ., as is *στιγεύς* (Hdt. 7. 35. 1). Headlam quotes several other similar pairs (his conclusion that '-της is less Attic than -εύς' would be better expressed as '-της in *nomina agentis* tends to replace all other formations, including -εύς').

**66. ραφίδας:** for the plur. cf. Eup. 259 ἐγὼ δέ γε στίξω σε βελόναισιν *τρισὶν*; the reason for the use of more than one is not clear.

**66-7. μιῇ . . . ὀδῶι:** 'at the one go', as in E. *Hel.* 765 ἢ πόλλ' ἀνῆρου μ' ἐνὶ λόγῳι (Pierson: ἐν ὀλίγῳι codd.) μιᾷ θ' ὀδῶι, Ar. *Pax* 1155 χᾶμα τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ *Χαρινάδην τις βωσάτω*. The tattooing is to be an additional, not an alternative, punishment.

**ποικίλον:** 'speckled'. Cf. Ar. *Av.* 760-1 εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει τις ὑμῶν *δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος, ἀτταγᾶς οὗτος παρ' ἡμῖν ποικίλος κεκλήσεται*.

**67-8.** 'Let him be hung up gagged as much as his Honour Daos.' The structure of the sentence, as Headlam saw, is shown by οὕτω . . . ὥσπερ: it follows that *καταμνος* and *ἡ Δάου τιμή* are in some way parallel, that therefore the former cannot be *κατὰ μνός* 'let him be hung up by the gag' (Crusius, Herzog; for *μνς* cf. 3. 85; the use of *κατά* is in any case dubious), and the latter cannot mean 'the punishment of D.' (Meister, Groeneboom, Cataudella, and Puccioni). *κατάμνος* might be a *Rückbildung* from *καταμνύω*, 'with his eyes shut' (as *κατάσκιος* from *κατασκιάζω*; it could not then mean 'gagged' as *καταμνύω* is used only of the eyes), but the point of this would be unclear, and it is better to derive it with Meister from *μνς*, 'gagged' (as *κατάπτερος*). *ἡ Δ. τιμή* 'his Honour D.' (Crusius *olim*, Headlam, Knox) is an honorific periphrasis (*KG* i. 280) used sarcastically, as in Euphro 8. 6 *ποῦ Κόρυδος ἢ Φυρόμαχος ἢ Νείλου βία. τιμή* does not appear to be used in such periphrases elsewhere (though Headlam cites *τιμιότης* from Lib. *Ep.* 1557 Wolf —really St. Basil *Ep.* 328 *καὶ προσαγορεύω τὴν τιμιότητά σου καὶ εὐχομαί σοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ*; misunderstood by the Budé ed., the Loeb is correct; A. *Ch.* 399 *κλῦτε δὲ γὰρ χθονίων τε τιμαί* and Pi. *Fr.* 29 *Ἰσμηνὸν ἢ . . . ἢ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλέος ἢ τὰν Διωνύσου πολυγαθέα τιμὰν ἢ . . . ὑμνήσομεν*; are not quite the same), but the similar *σέβας* is not uncommon. *Δᾶος* is a common slave-name in New Comedy, and no doubt many suffered the fate of being hung up and gagged (Headlam; supposition that there is a definite reference to Men. *Ἀνδρία* [Ter. *Andr.* 859 sqq.] is hazardous). (Various conjectures and the speculations of Knox, *CR* xliii [1929], 8-10, and Loeb ed., do not warrant refutation.)

**69-85.** K. now intervenes on G.'s behalf. B. pretends not to relent, but as soon as a reasonable pretext is offered she does so.

**69. τατί:** a pet name, ἄπ. λεγ. (known as a proper name in Asia

Minor); cf. *ταταλίζειν* (1. 60 n.). For hiatus after a vocat. in -ι see Schmidt 94.

*αὐτόν*: with *ἄφες* 72 (n.).

*σοι*: cf. 3. 79. This is preferable to *σῶ*, the original reading of P (adopted by Meister, Nairn, Crusius, and Groeneboom), because one would expect *σῶ εἴη*, not *σῶ ζώη*, and because Hds. does not place real monosyllables at the end of a verse (the exx. listed by Crusius, *Philol.* lxxix [1924], 378–9, are of postpositives and other parts of word-groups); *σῶ* would be an unparalleled but possible contraction of *σός*, with *ω* retained by analogy with *σῶς*.

70–1. Batyllis is clearly B.'s daughter. Cf. Phoen. 2. 10–13 *θεοί, γένοιτο πάντ' ἄμεμπτος ἢ κούρη κάφνειὸν ἄνδρα κώνομαστόν ἐξεύροι καὶ τῶι γέροντι πατρὶ κούρον εἰς χεῖρας καὶ μητρὶ κούρην εἰς τὰ γούνα κατθείη*. Groeneboom notes that such sentiments are frequently expressed in funerary inscriptions, and that *ἐπιδεῖν* is the word regularly used.

*μιν*: *μεν* P, cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 481.

*ἐς ἀνδρὸς οἶκον*: at her wedding.

72–3. The object of *ἄφες* is *αὐτόν* in 69, *παρατεῦμαί σε* is parenthetical (as *αἰτοῦμαί σε* E. *Alc.* 1042, *al.*), and the verb governing *ἁμαρτίην* is not expressed, as B. impatiently interrupts. So Headlam and Puccioni. *ἀφίημι* cannot take two accusatives (Blümner's *αὐτῶι* in 69 is not to be taken seriously), and, as Headlam showed, neither can *παρατέομαι* (as most edd. think) unless the *accus. rei* is internal (Groeneboom cites Men. *Fr.* 693 *παταιοῦμαί σε συγγνώμην ἔχειν*, where the infin. makes all the difference). Barigazzi takes *ἁμαρτίην* with *ἄφες*, resuming *αὐτόν* with a change of construction: possible, but less effective.

73. Rutherford saw that *με* had been transposed in P, but his *με λυπεῖτε* will not do—the pl., where K. alone can be meant, is inexplicable. Palmer's *λύπει τι* is an easy change.

74. B. will run away in petulant anger!

74–5. *ἐπτάδουλον*: Suet. π. βλασφ. p. 426 notes that the word is found in Hippon. (147) (it is probably by some confusion that Eust. ascribes *ἀφέω τοῦτον τὸν ἐ.* to Hippon.: he perhaps found the phrase cited anonymously, and knowing what Suet. had said, came to a false conclusion). It is a comical exaggeration of *τρίδουλος* (in which *τρι-*, as in other compounds, is merely emphatic; S. *OT* 1062–3 and Theopomp. Hist. 115 F 253 re-etymologize for their own purposes).

*καὶ τίς*: Denniston 309–10 (b).

76. To spit in someone's face is an indication of contempt (S. *Ant.* 1232, D. 18. 200).

*ἐμπύοι*: without *ἄν*; cf. Schwyzler ii. 325, and especially KG i. 230.

77. *οὐ τήν Τύραννον*: *οὐ* alone with the accus. in oaths is princi-

pally Dor. (Cobet, *NL* 651, Headlam here), but its appearance here and in *S. Ant.* 758 οὐ τόνδ' "Ὀλυμπον in dialogue shows that it could be taken over (probably from tragic lyric) by poets writing in other dialects.

The goddess meant is uncertain; Headlam discusses the point at length. The epithet is not elsewhere used of a goddess, and if it is that of a Greek goddess it must be borrowed from the equivalent male: thus Headlam thinks of Here (ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος of Zeus, *A. Pr.* 736 etc.), W. L. Newman (*CR* vi [1892], 181) and others of Aphrodite (*E. Fr.* 136 σὺ δ' ὦ τύραννε θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων "Ἐρως etc.), Meister of Persephone (*A. Ch.* 405 νερτέρων τυραννίδες). But she may be oriental (Bücheler, cf. Rose): *τύραννος* is a common epithet of the moon-god Mēn, and the feminization is paralleled by the use of *μηνοτύραννε* of Selene in a magical papyrus (W. Drexler *apud* Roscher, *Lex.* ii. 2753-4).

77-8. G., although a mere man (as he himself says, 27), has forgotten the wise precept γνῶθι σαυτόν, and has exceeded his due position: soon his tattoo will be there to remind him. The punctuation is Headlam's: the vulgate, taking ὦν with εἶδεν, ἐωυτόν with εἰδήσει, puts a false emphasis on ἐωυτόν and loses the twisting of G.'s words against himself.

79. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο: τοῦτο must refer back, therefore the inscription tattooed on his forehead must be γνῶθι σαυτόν or an equivalent (not ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι, as he knows that already; not *KK* = κακόν [Puccioni] because τοῦτο would be inexplicable).

80. εἰκάς: cf. 3. 53.

Γερήνι: an otherwise unknown festival of the dead (84), possibly connected with Γερήνιος Νέστωρ or with Γέρην ὁ Ποσειδῶνος (St. Byz. 205. 3). Schulze and Headlam conjecture Ἀγριήνι' (Hsch. α 788 ἀγριάνια· νεκύσια παρὰ Ἀργείοις, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐν Θήβαις. Ἀγριάνιος was the name of a month in several places). For other suggestions see *CQ* n.s. xvi (1966), 115 n. 6.

ἐς πέμπτην: i.e. on the 24th.

Religion forbade the punishment of wrongdoers during certain festivals. In some cases prisoners were released (as at Athens during the Dionysia and Panathenaea), in others punishment was postponed (as in the case of Socrates). Here the latter is suggested, but the postponement will probably be *ad Kalendas Graecas*.

81. νῦν μὲν: μὲν *solitarium*, in which the speaker 'uses μὲν, like γέ, in contrast with something which he does not, even in the first instance, intend to express in words' (Denniston 380).

84. ἐγχυτλοῦν: ἀπ. λεγ., from χύτλα, a Hellenistic equivalent of χοή (Pfeiffer on *Call. Fr.* 540).

85. 'You will keep unhonied festival on festival', i.e. after the festival

to the dead, at which honey was a main ingredient in the libation (H. Usener, *Rh. Mus.* lvii [1902], 177 sqq.), you will have a festival that is without honey, bitter, *πικρός*. P clearly had ἀμέλει τήν and all edd. except Headlam and Knox accept this: but Headlam shows in detail that in such phrases the article is not normally employed and that, when it is, it is used with both nouns or, very rarely, with the genit. only, but that an adj. may qualify the accus. ἀμελιτίτις is not found, and μελιτίτης is applied only to οἶνος and λίθος, but Headlam gives many exx. of adjectives in -ίτης and -ίτις describing festivals and the like. The corruption is explained by haplography followed by conjecture.

## 6 AND 7

These poems present a situation unique in Hds., if not in all Greek literature. One of the characters of 6, Metro, and one who is frequently mentioned in 6, Kerdon, reappear in 7; and 7 describes an episode later in time than, but connected in subject with, 6: in other words, 7 is a sequel to 6. Cf. *CQ* N.S. xiv (1964), 32 sqq. (where *inter alia* the view that the repetition of names etc. is due to coincidence is refuted).

The subject is the use and supply of leather penes for female masturbation. The dildo is here called βαυβών (6. 19 n.), elsewhere ὀλισβος (Sapph. 99. i. 5 [D. L. Page, *Sapph. and Alc.* 145 n.], Cratin. 316, Ar. *Lys.* 109, *Fr.* 320. 13). Its use is referred to also by Sophr. 24, *Com. Adesp.* in *POxy.* 212 (D. L. Page, *Gr. Lit. Pap.* no. 44), and possibly by Philet. *AP* 6. 210, and is depicted on vases. For other cultures see, e.g., A. C. Kinsey *et al.*, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, Ch. 5 (with literature). (Headlam on 6. 19 confuses this with Lesbianism.)

SCENE. 7. 86 Ταυρεῶνος indicates Ionia (see n.). This is slightly confirmed by the origin of Kerdon (6. 58) and by the connection of ὀλισβοι and Miletos (Ar. *Lys.* and *POxy.* 11. cc.). But closer identification is impossible (the guesses of Puccioni [Miletos] and Herzog [Ephesos] are without foundation).

## 6

SUBJECT. Metro visits her friend Koritto. After complaints about the laziness of slaves, M. asks K. where she obtained the red βαυβών. K. asks how she knows of this, and inveighs against the faithless friend who has lent it out. M. consoles her and again asks who made it. K. replies

that it was Kerdon and gives a detailed description of him and his craftsmanship. M. further asks how Kerdon came to know K., and on hearing that this was through Artemeis departs to see her and learn more of this desirable cobbler. K. orders the door to be closed and the hens counted.

CHARACTERS. M. and K. are women whose sole aim in life, as far as we are shown, is to obtain sexual satisfaction by means of a *βαυβών*. To get a good one they will do almost anything—but not quite: their public reputation is also important (80, cf. 39 and 16 sq.). Hds., not being a psychologist, and interested only in their present, does not suggest a reason for their practices (unless 69 sq. is intended as such). M. is insatiably curious. K. has a great fear of being cheated and robbed (5-6, 10, 98 sqq.), which is justified by 27 sqq. For Kerdon see intr. to 7.

PURPOSE. Partly the piece simply depicts this type of woman, but also, and perhaps chiefly, it serves as an introduction to 7, with its detailed picture of Kerdon.

STRUCTURE. Tripartite (cf. 1 and 4): introduction (1-14), main section (15-98), and conclusion (98-102). The main section is in four parts: how M. came to know of the *βαυβών* (15-41), identity and skill of Kerdon (42-73), why K. got only one from Kerdon (74-84), and how K. came to know Kerdon (85-98).

SOURCES. That the subject featured in the mime tradition is indicated by Sophr. 24. The opening recalls that of Theoc. 15, a piece which has mime connections.

TITLE. This is the earliest occurrence of both *φιλάζω*, 'to be a friend', and *ιδιάζω*, 'to be alone'—assuming that the title is due to Hds. Herwerden thought that the late attestation of the words was an indication that it was added 'a grammaticis'. On Kaibel's deletion of the second word see intr. to 1 (his conjecture for the first, *φαλλιιάζουσαι*, is unlikely).

SCENE. See intr. to 6 and 7.

DATE. No evidence.

1-14. K. welcomes her guest, and abuses her slave for not bringing a clean stool without being told to do so. M. agrees that slaves are impossible. Plaut. *Stich.* 58-64 are very similar, and Hds. may be borrowing from Men., as Headlam thinks.

1. *θές*: P at first wrote *δός*, but cf. 7. 4, Od. 4. 123, etc.

δίφρον: a light stool, cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Furniture of the Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans*, 38 sqq.

2 sqq. With πάντα δεῖ κτλ. K. turns to M., but immediately turns back to the slave.

3. οὐδέν: P apparently has ουδέν, presumably indicating the pronunciation *oudhen* (attested by the form οὐθέν), although 'may be only a mark; there is no reason to write οὐδ' ἐν with Bücheler and Meister (the emphatic οὐδὲ ἐν would not be elided, cf. 1. 43, 45, 48, 73).

4. αὐτὴ ἀπὸ σαυτῆς: 'on your own initiative'. Cf. Th. 5. 60. 1 ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύσαντος εἶπον.

λίθος τις: a common description of the ἀναίσθητος (Ar. Nu. 1202, Pl. Hp. Ma. 292d, Arist. EE 1221<sup>a</sup>22, etc.); cf. also 7. 109 n.

οὐ δούλη: asyndeton is regular in such expressions; cf. E. Med. 1342 λέαναν, οὐ γυναῖκα, Luc. DMeretr. 12. 2 λίθος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπός ἐστι, and many other exx. in Headlam.

5. (κ)εῖσ(αι): 'you lie dead'. Cf. Thgn. 567-9 ὑπερθεν γῆς . . . κείσομαι ὥσπερ λίθος ἀφθογγος, Epigr. Gr. 513 κείμει ἀναίσθητος ὥστε λίθος ἢ ἐ σίδηρος. K (IC) has been omitted between I and E. P's εἷς is defended only by Headlam and Nairn (Budé ed.), but the former's citations do not prove the possibility of such a violent hiatus in iambics: 2. 43 is easily corrected, in Phal. AP 13. 27. 6 the hiatus λυγρῇ ὄρνιθι is 'open to grave suspicion' (A. S. F. Gow, *Hell. Epigr.* ii. 463), and in Phoen. 2. 3 ἦ is a special case with epic and Hellenistic precedent (or Crusius's ἦ(ε) may be right).

5-6. 'But if I measure out the meal you count the crumbs.' She is far from being a stone when her own welfare is at stake. K. gives out the rations herself, like the αἰσχροκερδής who Φειδωνίῳ μέτρῳ τὸν πύνδακα εἰσσεκρουμένῳ μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφόδρα ἀποψῶν (Thphr. Char. 30. 11); this trait of her character is touched on again in 98 sqq. and cf. 10 n. For the phrase cf. Ar. Eq. 1009 περὶ τῶν μετρούντων τάλφιτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ κακῶς. Nairn, Headlam, Knox, and Cataudella accept the correction in P μετρῇ, 'you have measured out to you' (cf. D. 34. 37 τὰ ἀλφίτα καθ' ἡμέκτον μετρούμενοι etc.), but this destroys the subtle hint at K.'s character.

ἀμυθρεῖς: by metathesis for ἀριθμεῖς; used in 99, Nicoch. 5, Phoen. 3. 8, Call. Fr. 314, Cer. 86; the noun ἀμυθος much earlier by Simon. 121 (626). Doubtless originally a feature of Ion. popular speech, perhaps used by Hippon.

κῆν . . . ἀποστάξει: 'and if ever so little should drop'. Cf. Call. Fr. 260. 46 καὶ κρῖνον κυκεῶνος ἀποστάξαντος ἔραζε. P's κῆ . . . ἀποστάξει is impossible, a general condition being required; Crusius's κῆ . . . ἀποστάζει is grammatically possible (cf. GMT § 467), but it is better to continue the same construction.

7. τονθορύζουσιν: 'muttering'. Cf. 7. 77, 8. 8, and *LSJ*.

8. πρημονῶσαν: 'puffing', 'seething'. ἄπ. λεγ., denominative from \*πρημονή, equivalent to πρημαίνω (7. 98, Ar. *Nu.* 336) from \*πρήμα, ultimately from \*πρη-, whence also πρήθω (the nouns are found in Gal. and the *Hippiat.* in the forms πρησμονή and πρήσμα, with intrusive σ from πρήθω).

οὐ φέρουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι: the walls collapse under the strain! Similar exaggerations in Plu. *Mor.* 461d ἐφ' ᾧ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν διέστησε τοὺς τοίχους κεκραγώς; Juv. 1. 13 *adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae*.

9. ποεῖς λαμπρόν: paraphrase for λαμπρύνεις, also in Alex. 119. 4.

10. ληιστρί: fem. of ληιστήρ, of a person also Plu. *Thes.* 9. 2, more commonly of a ship. It may be simple abuse (cf. 4. 46), but may perhaps hint again at K.'s fear of being robbed.

θῦε: 2. 72 n.

11. Cf. Od. 20. 181 χειρῶν γένσασθαι.

χειρέων: a false Ionicism, also in 7. 3, like πυρέων 2. 80 n. In this case the analogy of s-stem nouns (e.g. χεῖλέ(σ)ων) is also operative (Puccioni, who cites weakly supported vv.ll. χειρέων from Hp. *Prog.* 4 and ρινέων from id. *VM* 18, *Aēr.* 4).

12. ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ ζυγὸν τρίβεις: like cattle yoked together to the same load (cf. Gow on Theoc. 12. 15). Zen. 3. 43 = Apostol. 6. 147 ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ ταῦτόν ἐλκομεν ζυγόν (*Com. Adesp.* 524). ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοία καὶ παραπλήσια πασχόντων. τρίβεις heightens the idea of discomfort.

14. κυὼν ὑλακτέω: not 'I bark like a dog', but 'I become a barking dog', identification in function, not comparison (E. Fraenkel, *Elem. Plaut. in Plauto* 35 sqq.). For exx. and literature see Headlam here and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 393 sqq.

τῆς ἀνωνύμοις ταύτης: with ἐπιβρύχουσα (cf. *KG* i. 414), not with ὑλακτέω (as Meister, Headlam, Puccioni, and *LSJ* Suppl.), which would require an accus., as Headlam himself shows (Meister thinks it takes the dat. by analogy with βοάω, Puccioni with ὀνειδίζω: neither seems close enough to justify this). For the epithet cf. 5. 45 n.

15-19. M. explains the reason for her visit. With some doubt I follow Groeneboom and Herzog in keeping P's arrangement, by which M. is the speaker in all this section. Most edd. (after Jevons and Pearson) give 15 ἐκποδών to 17 ἐορτή to K., on the ground that only she can order her slave away. But it does not seem impossible that her close friend should do this, illustrating her barking ability; and only she knows the confidential nature of her business—Headlam's claim that 'ἀλλ' οὐνεκεν πρὸς σ' ἦλθον is the preface to something important, and M.'s tone and manner as she says it conveys a hint that she has a private matter to confer about, causing K. . . . at once to send her slaves away' is rather special pleading.

16. φθείρεσθε: 'get to hell out of it' is the exact equivalent; cf.

Denniston on E. *El.* 234. The pl. probably refers to K.'s slave and to her own (she would not be outside without one).

**νώβυστρον**: clearly from **νόος** (*νοη-* in composition is unparalleled, but cf. Schwyzer i. 438 foot; contraction as in *νόημα* > *νώμα* and tenses of *νοέω* and *βοάω*) and *βύω*, with suffix *-τρον* (4. 46 n.), but the exact sense is disputed. (1) With the normal act. sense of *-τρον*, 'obturacula mentis' Bücheler, 'Verstandesverschluss' Meister, and so too Nairn and Groeneboom. But it is not apparent why the slaves should be so addressed: they are not stopping up anyone's mind, and the term seems too precise to be general abuse. (2) Puccioni gives it a pass. sense, 'dalla mente chiusa'. This gives good sense and is linguistically possible, though unusual; cf. (not *στέγαστρον* but) *ἀμφίβληστρον*. (3) Headlam thinks it equivalent to *νουβυστικός*, 'shrewd, cunning' (Ar. *Ec.* 441, cf. *V.* 1294), literally 'stuffed with intelligence'. One would however expect this to be a complimentary term (as in Ar.), and the suffix is hard to explain (Headlam seems to wish to read *νώβυστ*, but his note is somewhat confused and inaccurate at this point). (2) is most probable.

**ὤτα μούνον καὶ γλάσσαι**: capable only of listening (to what does not concern them) and spreading gossip (cf. A. *Ra.* 750-3: Xanthias asks the servant of Pluto whether he enjoys various things: *καὶ παρακούων δεσποτῶν ἄττ' ἂν λαλῶσι; Οἱ. μᾶλλὰ πλεῖν ἢ μαίνομαι. Εἰ. τί δὲ τοῖς θύραζε ταῦτα καταλαλῶν; Οἱ. ἐγώ; μὰ Δι' ἄλλ' ὅταν δρῶ τοῦτο, κάκμαίνομαι*). For the expression cf. Hes. *Th.* 26 *ποιμένες ἀγραυλοὶ, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον*, S. *Ichn.* 144-5 *σώματ' . . . μόνον καὶ γλῶσσα καὶ φalhῆτες*, *KG* i. 10 sqq.

**17. ἑορτή**: 'idleness'. Crusius compares Zen. *Ath.* 1. 33 *ἑορτὴ πόδας ἔχουσα*.

**19. κόκκινον**: they were made of red leather like the phallus worn in comedy (Ar. *Nu.* 538-9, *Suda* φ 60) to appear more real (cf. *POxy.* 212. 15-16 *τὴν μ[ὲν χρῶαν] ἰδεῖν ὁμοῖον ἐστι, θάλπει δ' οὐ[δαμῶς]*).

**βαυβῶνα**: probably connected with *βαυβᾶν*, 'sleep', not *Βαυβώ* the nurse of Demeter. Cf. 71.

**19-36.** K. does not reply, but asks where M. saw the *βαυβῶν* and, on learning this, inveighs against her false friend who had lent it out.

**20. Νοσσίς . . . Ἡρίννης**: Nossis and Erinna are the names of two of the most famous poetesses of the early Hellenistic period (see A. S. F. Gow, *Hell. Epigr.* ii. 281, 434), and the appearance of the names in conjunction can hardly be a coincidence. Nossis wrote *ἄδιον οὐδὲν ἔρωτος* (*AP* 5. 170) and claimed equality with Sappho (*AP* 7. 718); while Erinna's relationship with Baukis may have given rise to rumours against her character. This malicious reference is one of the very few occasions when Hds. is not totally impersonal. Cf. also 7. 57-8 n.



21. *μᾶ, καλόν τι δῶρημα*: M. is not, I think, sarcastic (Nairn) or ironic (Groeneboom), but envious.

22. *διαβαλεῖς*: 'will you disparage (me to Nossis' source for telling you)?' Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *διαβάλλω* V. This is better than 'divulge', as most edd. take it because of the reply: but the question need not correspond exactly.

23. *τούτους τοὺς γλυκέας*: her eyes, which she touches (cf. Petron. 133. 2 *tetigit puer oculos suos conceptissimisque iuravit uerbis*). Cf. Theoc. 6. 22 *οὐ τὸν ἐμὸν τὸν ἕνα γλυκύν*. That a man's eyes are his dearest possession is a very common idea.

25. *Βιτᾶδος*: this name occurs elsewhere only in Hdn. Gr. ii. 657. 7 (possibly from Hds., cf. 5. 6, 9 nn.), but cognate forms (as *Βίτιννα* in 5) are common. P here and in 81 and in the similar *Κανδᾶδος* in 87 has τ for δ, but -ᾶδος is the correct Ion. form in such names (given by Hdn. l.c. and exemplified in inscriptions) and τ and δ are commonly confused in Egyptian Greek (W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 417-18, Schmidt 47 sqq.).

26. She said *μηδεὶς αἰσθήσθω*. It is not only slaves who are *ῶτα καὶ γλάσσαι*!

27. *γυναῖκες*: taken as vocat. by Headlam, 'an appeal to an imaginary audience of the whole sex' (after Crusius; so Groeneboom), but there is little point in this, and it is better with Bücheler and Puccioni to regard it as an exclamation, in the sense of *ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὥπασας γένος* (A. Th. 256), provoked by this example of indiscretion and ingratitude. *γυνή* following is not pleonastic provided there is full punctuation after *γυναῖκες*.

*ἐκτρίψει*: 'will uproot me', metaphor from clearing vegetation. Or possibly (Lloyd-Jones) 'wear me away'.

28. *ἡιδέσθην*: paid her the respect due to a suppliant (Il. 1. 23 etc.); an exalted word in the context.

29. *πρόσθεν ἢ αὐτὴ χρήσασθαι*: K. emphasizes her generosity. *πρόσθεν ἢ* with the infin. by analogy with *πρὶν*; so Heraclit. B 1, B 31, S. OT 832, E. Ba. 1285.

30. *ὥσπερ εὖρημ' ἀρπάσασα*: 'snatching it like a windfall'. *εὖρημα* (synonyms *ἔρμαιον*, *ἄρπαγμα*) is a lucky find, belonging to no one, to be seized and utilized by the finder; the idea is amply illustrated by Headlam.

31-2. *χαιρέτω κτλ.*: 'many farewells to a friend who is of such a nature'. I take *φίλη* as predicative with *χαιρέτω* (so Danielsson), rather than with *τοίῃ* 'being such a friend' (so Bücheler, Nairn, and Herzog; Headlam rightly objects to the word-order) or as vocat. (Headlam and later edd.; but it is awkward to bring in M. here, especially with *φίλην* following in 33).

32-3. Cf. Theoc. 14. 37-8 *ἄλλος τοι γλυκίων ὑποκόλπιος; ἄλλον ἴοισα θάλπει φίλον*.

33. ἀθρείτω = σκοπεῖτω. Hds. uses the more recondite word in an unusual way.

τὰμὰ Νοσσίδι χρῆσαι: 'that she should have lent my property to N.!' So Groeneboom and Herzog: the vulgate is τὰλλα Νοσσίδι χρῆσθαι, the dat. being governed by προσδώσω or -δοίην in 36 and the infin. being epexegetic: this gives a very contorted sentence, besides necessitating Μηδόκεω in 34 (n.). If αἰ is an addition, not a correction, an alternative reading would be τὰλλα ('in other matters', i.e. in the future, cf. Ar. *Pl.* 326 ὅπως δέ μοι καὶ τὰλλα συμπαραστάται ἔσεσθε). Νοσσίδα χρῆσθαι; but the observation of Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1662 sq., that a pronominal word usually stands at the beginning of a sentence with exclamatory accus. and infin., favours Groeneboom's solution.

34. τῇ μὴ δοκέω: 'to whom I do not think—' or 'to whom let me not seem—', but the apology μέζον μὲν κτλ. interrupts the sentence, and it is resumed with a different construction—a common type of anacoluthon. So Danielsson (also Crusius and Herzog with the slight variation of making δοκέω parenthetic). Others, such as Headlam *olim* and Nairn, take μὴ with γρύζω as a cautious assertion (*GMT* § 265), but δοκέω parenthetic and the position of μὲν are difficult. The vulgate however is Weil's τῇ Μηδόκεω: Μηδόκης is a Thracian name, and it is alleged that K. in her anger attributes barbarian origin to Nossis: but while this is quite suitable in a Battaros (2. 37–8), it sounds most odd here, and is a subtlety born of the common reluctance to recognize anacoluthon.

μέζον μὲν ἢ δίκη γρύζω: so P sscr. (read by Knox), having first written ἢ γυνή γρύζω, which most edd. keep: but the pres. is slightly better than the fut., and it is then logical to accept the whole correction. δίκη (cf. δίκη ἐστὶ quoted by *LSJ* s.v. II 2 only from A.) and γυνή (cf. 4. 69) may be author-variants.

35. λάθοιμι: cf. 1. 35, 4. 58.

Ἀδρήστεια: the goddess who punished excess of any kind and who therefore had to be propitiated or persuaded not to pay attention when an excess was about to be committed: E. *Rh.* 342–5 Ἀδράστεια μὲν ἃ Διὸς παῖς εἴργοι στομάτων φθόνον· φράσω γὰρ δὴ ὅσον μοι ψυχᾷ προσφιλές ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, Pl. *R.* 451 α προσκυνῶ δὲ Ἀδράστειαν . . . χάριν οὐ μέλλω λέγειν, and see Headlam *ad loc.*

χιλίων εὖντων: conditional.

36. σαπρός: 'rotten' (used in an unknown context by Hippon. 24), of leather also in Ar. *V.* 38 (βύρσα), Men. *Fr.* 97. 5 (ἰμάς). The correction is accepted by Bücheler, Knox, and Cataudella: most edd. retain λεπρός, 'scaly, rough', which might be right, though a good parallel is lacking (Ar. *Ach.* 724 should not be cited).

προσδώσω: 'give in response to an appeal' (cf. X. *Mem.* 1. 2. 39

προσαιτεῖν ὥσπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἱκετεύοντα καὶ δεόμενον προσδοῦναι, Phoen. 2. 1 κορώνῃ χειρὰ πρόσδοτε); although K. gave in to Euboule's pleas (28-9), she would not do so in the case of Nossis. P's original reading is defended by Crusius, Nairn, and Puccioni, other edd. accepting the correction προσδοῖν. ἄν with the fut. indic. is an undeniable construction in all periods of Greek (cf. A. C. Moorhouse, *CQ* xl [1946], 1 sqq., H. Raeder, *Kong. Danske Vidensk. Selskab, Hist.-fil. Medd.* xxxiii. 5 [1953], M. D. Macleod, *CQ* n.s. vi [1956], 102 sqq.); for Hellenistic poetry cf. Call. *Ἰον.* 93 τίς κεν Διὸς ἔργματ' αἰείσει; and there is no reason for its introduction here if it is not genuine; on the other hand, it was forbidden by grammarians (*AB* i. 127. 24 sqq.), so that a reader might have removed it.

37-48. M. soothes K., and repeats her question, who was the maker? M. is with some difficulty persuaded to reveal that it was Kerdon.

37. ἐπὶ ρινός: cf. Theoc. 1. 18 καὶ οἱ αἰὲ δριμεῖα χολὰ ποτὶ ρινὶ κάθηται, with Gow's note, and Gow, *JHS* lxxi (1951), 81-4.

38. <sup>καλ</sup>σοφον P: decision is difficult. With Bücheler, Knox, and Cataudella I adopt καλόν, which seems better suited to what she has heard. Perhaps author-variants.

39. A γνώμη common from Thgn. 658 (ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς πάντα φέρειν ἀγαθοῦ) on, cf. Pearson on S. *Fr.* 319. Headlam notes that γυναικὸς is used because a woman is the speaker—no opposition to men is intended.

40-1. λαλεῖν in Hds. means 'speak', not 'chatter' (4. 33, 6. 61; *LSJ* I 3), therefore requires the qualification πολλά here. The missing syllable in 41 is therefore after, not before, πολλά (Palmer's <τὰ> πολλά gives a wrong sense), and Kaibel's πόλλ', ἀλλά is a simple correction; the progressive use of ἀλλά would be very like that in Hp., where 'we often find ἀλλά χρή after a detailing of symptoms, introducing a description of the regimen recommended' (Denniston 21); for punctuation after the first *anceps* cf. 2. 63, 5. 53, 6. 72, 7. 105. If this reasoning is rejected, Palmer's alternative <τὶ> πολλά; might be considered. That πολλά is subject of or adverbial with δέεται (<ῆ> π. Kenyon, <καὶ> π. Blass) I cannot believe.

γλάσσαν: P has γλῶσσαν here, but γλάσσαν in 3. 84, 93, 5. 8, 7. 110, γλάσση in 5. 37, 7. 77, and γλάσσαι in 6. 16. This form is found in Ion. inscriptions (*Schwyzler* 692 [Chios, 5th cent.], *SIG* 1002 [Miletos, c. 400]) and in *EM* 558. 50. It shows generalization of the weak grade of the stem γλωχ- (strong grade generalized in γλῶσσα), which originally would have appeared only in the genit. and dat. and would have had the accent on the suffix (J. Schmidt, *Kuhns Zeitschr.* n.f. xiii [1894], 453-5; E. Hermann, *NGG* 1919, 176, noted that in *POxy*.

1614 of Pi. O. 6. 82 the accent but not the vowel is preserved with γλωσσᾶι); cf. the declension of μήτηρ etc.

ἐκτεμεῖν: cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 318 *non tu tibi istam praetruncari linguam largiloquam iubes?* Men. *Epit.* 398 sqq. ἂν δέ τις λάβῃ με τι περιεργασάμενον ἢ λαλήσαντ', ἐκτεμεῖν δίδωμ' ἐμαντοῦ †τοὺς δδόντας† (cf. Wilamowitz and Koerte ad loc.).

δεῖται: impers. middle, with the infin. as S. *OC* 570 (Pearson, *CQ* xi [1917], 61, is mistaken), Hdt. 4. 11. 2 s.v.l., X. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 36 v.l., Aen. Tact. 31. 19, anon. *apud AB* i. 88. 21 (more frequently with the genit.). On the general tendency of verbs of necessity to become impersonal see Wackernagel i. 118. It is less likely that δέομαι has influenced δεῖ in voice (as Felix Solmsen, *Glotta* ii [1910], 301-5).

44. μ' ἐνβλέπεις: ἐμβλέπειν 'look at' normally takes the dat., but accus. also in Men. *Sik.* 286, Phld. *AP* 10. 103. Or μ' may = μοι (5. 9 n.).

45. τί τὰβρά σοι ταῦτα: 'what is this delicacy of yours?' Cf. A. *Ag.* 1203, 1205 *KA.* πρὸ τοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε. *XO.* ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον, with Fraenkel's note. M. affects to believe that K. is shy but surely she is only reluctant to reveal her source of supply.

46. ἐνεύχη: only here and in 47 in literature (see *LSJ*); perhaps a colloquialism used by Hds. instead of the normal ἐπι- (3. 58) to avoid ἐπι- . . . ἐπι-.

μή μ' ἐπιψεύση: 'don't deceive me'. The force of ἐπι- is not clear: Headlam says 'further', comparing 17, but has she been deceived up to now? Construction as with the simple verb.

48. ἔραψε: cf. Maas, *Gr. Metre* 130 (the papyrus of Tim. 15 (791). 165, like P here, doubles the ρ in the usual way, *contra metrum*).

48-73. M. asks which Kerdon she means. K. tells her and describes his exquisite craftsmanship.

48. κοῖος: 'which (of several possible ones)'. Not = πότερος, 'which of two', as Nairn says; it is true that M. mentions only two, but it is clear that she does not believe it to be either of these.

49. ὁ γλαυκός: 'with grey eyes'.

50. Κυλαίθιδος: femin., not masc. *Κυλαίθιδος*; cf. 1. 50 n.

51. The πλήκτρον, fastened to the lyre by a cord, resembles in shape the baubon with its straps (71); M., who is perhaps prejudiced, suggests that the former is much easier to make than the latter. She uses ῥάψαι (which cannot strictly apply to a πλήκτρον, which was made of wood, horn, metal, or other hard material) because the making of baubons is uppermost in her mind. (So essentially Headlam, but he should not have made the contrast between hardness and softness: a baubon, to be effective, must not be soft, and μαλακότης in 71 does not mean 'softness'.)

ἐς λύρην: 'for a lyre'. Cf. Theoc. 5. 98 ἐς χλαῖναν μαλακὸν πόκον.

53. τῆς Ἑρμοδώρου: the owner of the tenement, after whom it is named. So Ar. *Th.* 273 τὴν Ἱπποκράτους ξυνοικίαν.

τὴν πλατεῖαν: the main, broad, street (*LSJ* s.v. πλατύς II), as distinct from the alleys off it.

ἐκβαντί: for the dat. see Schwyzer ii. 152 (2). ἐκβαίνειν with the accus. in the literal sense is rare (also Adaios *AP* 9. 300. 1, and cf. *LSJ* s.v. I 3 a).

54. ἦν μὲν κοτ' ἦν τις: cf. *Com. Adesp.* 276 ἦμην ποτ' ἦμην τῶν σφριγώντων ἐν λόγοις. For τις 'a someone, a person of importance' see *LSJ* s.v. II 5 a.

γεγήρακε: for the form see Schmidt 15 sqq.

55. Κυλαιθίς: neither this nor Πυλαιθίς is otherwise known.

ἡ μακαρίτις: Sch. A. *Pers.* 633 μακαρίτης ὁ τεθνεώς, μακάριος ὁ ζῶν; the fem. also in Theoc. 2. 70, *al.* The usage must be derived from Eleusinian and similar beliefs in a blessed after-life. 'The unusual scansion [it is the only 4th foot anapaest in Hds.] shows that the word is treated as a fixed word for which no synonym can be substituted' (Headlam).

ἐχρήτο: cf. 78.

56. A conventional pious wish, equivalent to *requiescat in pace*, as it was the duty of οἱ προσήκοντες to remember the dead and tend their tomb. (No malice or hypocrisy is intended. Some edd. seem to think there is a jussive subj., not an opt. of wish, and a μόνον before οἴτινες.)

57. ὥς λέγεις: M. has not said so explicitly, but 51 and 54 show clearly that she does not believe the Kerdon in question to be either of those whom she names. ὦν (Richards, Kaibel, Blass; accepted by Knox) is unnecessary. For similar expressions see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 319 (p. 170 foot).

58. Cf. Theoc. 25. 170-1 οὐκ οἶδ' ἀτρεκέως ἢ Ἄργεος ἐξ ἱεροῦ αὐτόθεν ἢ Τίρυνθα νέμων πόλιν ἢ ἐ Μυκλήν. ἢ . . . ἢ in disjunctive questions is epic, but possibly also tragic (Page on E. *Med.* 493).

⟨'χ⟩: the corruption is explained by W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 678, as due to the assimilation of 'κ to X(ίου) (hence I write 'χ, cf. Appendix II, 16 (3), rather than 'κ), though I think this has been followed by haplography rather than by single writing of the double consonant. An ablative genit. would be unparalleled in Hds. and seems unlikely (though cf. Theoc. 24. 129 φυγὰς Ἄργεος ἐνθῶν).

59. φαλακρός, μικκός: therefore of an ignoble and despised appearance (Pl. *R.* 495 e, Plu. *Mor.* 607 a). Whatever the original location of μικκός, at this date it was not considered solely Dor., cf. Call. *Fr.* 202. 20, and it may have occurred in Hp. (see *LSJ*).

αὐτό . . . Πρηξίνον: 'just, exactly P.' Cf. Platonic phrases like *R.* 472 c ἐζητοῦμεν αὐτό . . . δικαιοσύνην οἶόν ἐστι. A further development

is to combine *αὐτὸ* with the noun, as *αὐτοῦργία*, and with a name *αὐτοθαῖς*.

60. Cf. *Com. Adesp.* 189 *σύκωι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα σῦκον οὐδὲ ἐν οὕτως ὁμοιον γέγονεν*. Adaptations of the proverb *ὁμοιότερος σύκου*.

61. *πλήν*: apparently an early example of the meaning 'only, however' (*LSJ* s.v. B III 2).

63. *κατ' οἰκίην*: 'at his home', the opposite of *κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐργάζομαι* (Posidipp. 23. 3). Herzog takes as 'from house to house' (the phrase is so used by Plu. *Mor.* 918 d), because of 85 sqq.: but there is no inconsistency if we regard *ἐργάζεται* as 'manufactures', with *ἐνπολέων* *λάβρη* referring to his mode of selling. P has *κατοικεῖν*: an ancestor probably omitted H between I and N, and I was taken as EI.

*ἐνπολέων*: from *ἐμπολάω*, see Appendix II, 15 (4); there is no need to invent *ἐμπολέω* (*LSJ*).

*τελώνας*: in no age are tax-collectors a popular group. Certainly no political criticism is implied.

65. An exclamation is desirable, cf. 4. 57, and as the exclamatory use of the indirect interrog. pron. is doubtful I accept Herwerden's easy correction (cf. *CQ* N.S. xiv [1964], 32 n. 4, and also Bluck on Pl. *Men.* 74 d 7).

66. *χεῖρας*: 4. 72 n.

68. *ἄμ' ἰδμῇ*: 'along with the seeing', i.e. at once. *ἰδμῇ* strictly belongs to the perf. stem *ἰδ-* 'know' (as in its only other occurrence, Hsch. ι 217 *ἰδμῇν φρόνησιν*, and as its Att. equivalent *ἰσμή* [cf. *ἴδμεν, ἴσμεν; ὁδμή, ὁσμή*]), but from its conjunction with *ἰδοῦσ'* Hds. clearly connected it with the aor. *ἰδ-* 'see', perhaps misunderstanding the passage whence he borrowed it. This reading is accepted by Headlam, Knox, and Cataudella; it suits the traces better than its only real rival *ἀμίλλη* (Blass and most edd.), and it has not been shown that *ἄμιλλα* by itself can mean 'sexual desire' (note the genitives in the passages cited, S. *El.* 493, E. *Hipp.* 1141, Gorg. *Hel.* 5).

*τῶμματ' ἐξεκύμηνα*: cf. 4. 64.

69. *βαλλί'*: *ἄπ. λεγ.* The sense is obvious, the derivation uncertain (connected with *φάλλος* according to Bücheler and, doubtfully, Frisk; with *βαλλίζειν* according to Meister).

70. *αὐταί*: 'by ourselves, alone' (*LSJ* s.v. I 3).

*εἰμέν*: P may have had either this or *ἐσμέν*. The Ion. form is more likely.

71. *ἡ μαλακότης ὕπνος*: 'its gentleness, smoothness, is sleep'. Sleep was well known as *μαλ(θ)ακός* (Il. 10. 2 etc., Hes. *Fr.* 239. 4); emphasis on this quality could therefore be expressed either by a comparison, *ὕπνου μαλακώτερος* (Theoc. 5. 51, 15. 125; cf. Alc. 3 fr. 3. ii. 61-2 *τακερώτερα δ' ὕπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρεται*), or by an identification, as here.

72. ἔρι': Ctes. 688 F 10 speaks of καμήλους ἄς ἔχειν τρίχας πρὸς Μιλήσια ἔρια τῇ μαλακότητι.

72-3. Cf. Hdt. 5. 24. ἰ ἐγὼ δὲ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοὶ . . . εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον, Ar. Pl. 104-5 οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἐμοῦ ζητῶν ἔτ' ἄνδρα . . . βελτίονα.

74-84. M. asks why she did not obtain both. K. replies that she tried, but was prevented from exercising her full powers of persuasion by the presence of a neighbour.

75. προσήγαγον: 'bring to bear against', a military metaphor (LSJ s.v. A I 6).

πειθοῦν: for the form cf. 2. 98 n.

76. τὸ φαλακρὸν καταψῶσα: in the parallels quoted (Hdt. 6. 61. 5, S. Fr. 171, X. An. 28, Pl. Phd. 89 b) the movement is affectionate, but not erotic.

77. γλυκύν: sc. οἶνον, cf. Gow on Theoc. 18. 11.

ταταλίζουσα: 1. 60 n.

79. δοῦναι: ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἡξίωσε and ἔδει.

80. γάρ: assentient, with a word repeated from the previous sentence, as 4. 86; Denniston 88.

ἀλλ' . . . εἶναι: 'but it is not fitting to act unseasonably'. The ἄκαιρος is a person who does something at the wrong time; cf. Thphr. Char. 12. οὐ πρόποντ': sc. ἐστί. For exx. of this use of the pl. (also in 3. 49; non-Homeric and not in strict Att. prose) see KG i. 66 sq.; it may be emphatic (E. Löfstedt, Syntactica i. 63 sqq.). πρόπον γ' (Crusius olim, followed by Headlam, Knox, and Cataudella) is wrong: ἄκαιρον is the emphatic word (cf. Denniston 12). The division ἀλλ' ἄκαιρον is due to Ellis, the interpretation of the sentence to Headlam. Most edd. read ἀλλὰ καιρόν: this is explained as an accus. of time, like Ar. Ach. 23 ἀωρίαν (so Nairn; but εἶναι is not explained), or more plausibly as an exclamatory accus. and infin. (so Groeneboom, 'mais quel embêtement que l'occasion ne fût pas favorable'; but the sense of πρόποντ(α) is strained, and an indignant exclamation suits the context much less well than an explanation).

81. ἤλθεν: explanatory asyndeton (a reader's helpful γάρ [deleted by Wilamowitz apud Kaibel] has intruded into the text, cf. J. Jackson, Marg. Scaen. 116).

ἐν μέσῳ: 'near us'.

<Εὐ>βούλη: the necessity for the correction is well explained by Headlam: 'Bitas must be male; therefore ωύτης 84 can refer only to δούλη, which is absurd, for the slave would not have a grindstone of her own.' Cf. 25.

82-4. 'For she by turning our millstone day and night has made it rubbish, so that she shouldn't regrind her own at a cost of four obols.'

In strict logic the final clause depends on the unexpressed idea 'she borrows mine'.

**τρίβουσα**: as Odysseus and his men plan to turn the stake in the Cyclops' eye, *τρῖψαι ἐν ὀφθαλμῶι* (Od. 9. 333).

**ὄνον**: the upper millstone, which turns on the *μύλη*.

**μή**: in second place not followed by the verb, an unusual order; so with *οὐ* 7. 69, 8. 12.

**κόψηι**: cf. *νεόκοπτος* (Ar. V. 648), *ὀνοκόπος* (Alex. 13).

85-98. M. now asks how Kerdon found his way to K., and on being told that he had been sent by Artemeis, departs to interview that lady.

85. Not simply 'How did he know where you lived?', but implying also 'How did he know you would be interested in his products?'

86. *μηδὲ τοῦτο*: refers back to 46.

87. *Ἀρτεμείς*: for the form of the name see W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 418 sq., Schmidt 54 sqq.

89. *εὐρίσκει*: this and not *εὐρή[σ]ει* (Kenyon, adopted by Knox, Cataudella, and Puccioni) is probably the reading of P, and, as Groeneboom notes, the pres. suits the semi-proverbial expression. Cf. Alex. 257 *αἰέ γ' ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τιν' εὐρίσκει τέχνην* (where Kaibel's *καινήν* for the following *καὶ νῦν* would make the correspondence even closer).

90. The damage to the last word makes interpretation uncertain. *θαμνὴν* seems (P. J. Parsons) the most likely reading; *θάμνα* is, according to *Gp.* 6. 13. 2, *τρὺξ ἡ ἐκ τῶν σταμφύλων. πιεῦσα* (aor. part. of *πιεῖν*, cf. [Puccioni] Hp. *Epid.* 7. 11 *πιέουσα* [v.l. *ποιέουσα*] and 4. 89 n.) suits this. *προκυκλήν* will be the adj. from *προκυκλῆς* (1 tit. n.). But *πρόσω* 'further' = 'more deeply' is difficult, and Kaibel's *πρό σοι* 'having drunk your health in pander's wine', is worth considering. *Θαλλοῦν* (Meister) is a possible reading; it is adopted, with Rutherford's *ποεῦσα* and *προκυκλήν* as a noun, by Headlam, Groeneboom, and Herzog, who translate 'leaving Thallo behind in pandering' and compare Anaxil. 22. 18 *ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ*; One would like another example of *προκυκλή* (*Θαλλώ* is also unique, but so are many of the names in Hds., and *Θάλλουσα* is known). Knox reads *πιεῦσα* with Bücheler (though he translates *πιεῦσα*), but *ἐπι-* is not in place here. Finally there is an almost illegible suprascript in P: this is consistent with *νηνεν* . . . (Parsons, who rightly rejects the widely supported *νηγκυ*, 'κ' being a dark spot on the grain of the papyrus, 'ν' part of the *ι* in 89), but it is useless to guess what it was.

91. *ἀλλ' οὖν*: answering *μέν*, especially suitable when it introduces a resumption of the main issue (Denniston 443-4).

**γ'**: logically belongs to *ἔδει πυθέσθαι κτλ.*, but is placed early because the idea of this limited objective is foremost in her mind.



This is not a true example of the combination ἀλλ' οὖν γε (for which see Headlam's note).

ἐγλυῦσαι: set them free from imprisonment with Kerdon.

92. ἐγδοῦσα: 'ordering'. Cf. D. 18. 122 ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκώς κατὰ συγγραφὴν.

93. οὐκ: the content of his oath is simply reported, hence οὐ and not μή.

94. This line was omitted by P (homoeoteleuton) and is added in

N

the upper margin in a cursive hand, with Κ' (κάτω) at the end and Α (ἄνω) after 93. It was read as in the text by Kenyon, and though others have read otherwise this is certainly (Parsons) correct. It is deficient in both metre and sense. Knox's ταύτη γὰρ <ῆλω> κηγάπησέ ν<ω>, Μητροῖ is the best correction proposed.

95. λέγεις ὁδόν μοι: 'your words mean a journey for me' (not 'you tell me the road I have to take'), explained by the following sentence. Cf. Ar. Pl. 637 λέγεις μοι χάραν.

εἴμι: edd. except Headlam and Knox retain P's εἶναι, understanding 'what you say means that my road is now to A.'; but Headlam rightly says that τὴν ὁδὸν and οὖσαν would be required (for the part. cf. E. Rh. 280 'Ρῆσον τιθέντ' ἔλεξας ἐν Τροίαι πόδα; λέγειν with accus. and infin. expresses a simple statement).

96. εἰδ[ή]σω: this is, *pace* Groeneboom, the reading of P; the shape of C, with almost a right angle at the top and almost no foot, is not uncommon, and εἰδ[ῶ] εἰγώ (Kenyon) is too long for the space.

97. ὑγίαιné μοι: 'good-bye' (LSJ s.v. I 4).

λαίμῃ τ[ις]: 'someone is very hungry'. I take this to mean 'I have a great desire to use a baubon'. τ[ις] = ἐγώ is best known in threats (Jebb on S. Ant. 751), but I see no reason to doubt its use in this half delicate, half coquettish way (λαίμάτ[τω] [Crusius *olim*] is too long). λαιμᾶν and cognate words express 'greediness generally, violent appetite, unrestraint in desire, wantonness' (Headlam on 4. 46); and possibly it is particularly appropriate here, cf. 7. 112 n. This interpretation is based on that of Leone, who reads λαιμάτ[τ(ε)ι], 'the desire to use the baubon devours me'; but the lack of subject is difficult. Both λαιμᾶι τ[ις] and λαιμάτ[τ(ε)ι] (Crusius; for the Att. form in P cf. 5. 57, 6. 2) have been generally taken to mean 'my husband is hungry', cf. Theoc. 15. 147 ὥρα ὅμως κῆς οἶκον. ἀνάριστος Διοκλείδας: but M. is not going home, it is not otherwise indicated that she has a husband, and τ[ις] or no subject at all would be a strange way to introduce him. λαιμᾶι occurs in Hippon. 118. 3.

98. For ἀφ[έρπειν] cf. Theoc. 15. 26 ἔρπειν ὥρα κ' εἴη, 27. 65 εἰς οἶκον ἀφέρπω, Call. Epigr. 40. 6 ἔρπε χαίρων.

98-102. K. bids her slave close the doors and count the hens.

99.  $\nu[\epsilon\omicron]\sigma\sigma\omicron\tilde{\omega}\lambda\iota$  is not otherwise known, but it fits the traces better than  $\omega\iota\sigma\tilde{\omega}\lambda\iota$  (Sch. Ar. *Pl.* 427;  $-\eta\varsigma$  *POxy.* 83. 4) which was conjectured also by Diels (preceded by  $\chi\rho\eta$ ) and by Crusius (preceded by  $\mu\omicron\iota$ ; so Groeneboom and Herzog). Presumably she is one of K.'s slaves who looks after and sells her chickens; for such an occupation cf. the words  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\upsilon\nu\omicron\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  (Phryn. Com. 13),  $\delta\rho\nu\iota\theta\omicron\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta\varsigma$  and  $-\pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  (Poll. 7. 198).

$\kappa\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\theta\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ : aor. imp. mid. (unless  $\chi\rho\eta$  were correct before).

100.  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ : recommended as food for hens by *Gp.* 14. 7. 3.

101.  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$  γὰρ ἀλλά: 'for there is no doubt that', cf. Denniston 28 sqq. (The occurrence of the combination here, probably in 7. 36, in Call. *Fr.* 191. 1, and in Phoen. 3. 15, suggests that it occurred in Hippon., and that therefore Masson is right in defending Hippon. 1. 1 against Pfeiffer.)

$\pi\omicron\rho\theta\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}[\sigma]\iota$ : cf. Ar. *Ach.* 164  $\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$  τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὰ σκόροδα  $\pi\omicron\rho\theta\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

102. The point of the mention of the hens now appears: they may be stolen, just as baubons may be lent unscrupulously, even if one protects them carefully.

$\omega\rho\nu\iota\theta\omicron\kappa\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\iota$ : = οἱ ὄρν. ( $\tilde{\alpha}\pi.$  λεγ.).

$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$  κόλπῳ: metaphorical (Headlam and others take it literally, but the passages quoted refer to pet animals, and hens would hardly be so treated).

## 7

SUBJECT. Metro brings some other ladies to the shop of the shoemaker Kerdon. He shows them his stock. There is some bargaining about prices. K. fits two of the ladies with shoes, and tells M. to return later. Such is the ostensible subject; but in fact K., as in 6, is engaged in the selling of baubons. This is made quite clear in 62-3, 108-12, and 127-9 (see *CQ.N.S.* xiv [1964], 32 sqq., and nn. ad locc.), and there are hints elsewhere (nn. on 2-4, 57, 58, 60, 61, and below on the prices). His trade in shoes is a cover for this less respectable activity.

CHARACTERS. K. is the star of the piece. In 6 he is described as a craftsman: here he is principally a salesman, fussing over the comfort of his customers, praising what he is offering in extravagant terms and with great asseverations, complaining how difficult life is for him, pouring out great lists of his wares, reluctant to name a price but insisting, when forced to do so, that the article is worth every penny, lavish with compliments, contemptuous of competitors. We have been

prepared for his facile tongue by 6. 61-2, and 6. 59 gives a brief physical description of him: *φαλακρός, μικρός*, the baldness being emphasized by further references in 6. 76 and 7. 71-2. Greed is suggested by his name.

M. is the foil to this: she asks the price and reacts with the expected ridicule when she hears it. The other women are only mentioned—they have no speaking part (as edd. before Herzog thought).

PURPOSE. The characterization of K. is clearly the chief point, but also we are shown how the women of 6, so frank in private, preserve their respectability in public.

SOURCES. Shoemakers appear throughout Greek literature, generally as poor, uneducated people of the lowest class. Eubulus' *Σκυτεύς* may have had some influence on Hds.

SCENE. See intr. to 6 and 7.

DATE. No evidence.

PRICES. A certain pair of shoes is valued by K. at 1 mina (79, 91). For another pair Eueteris offers 5 staters (99), but K. will not sell her them for 4 Darics (102). K. will sell 3 pairs for 7 Darics as a favour (106). K. asks someone if she will pay 7 Darics for another pair (122).

The only certain inference which can be drawn from this about the system of coinage referred to is that 5 staters are less than 4 Darics, therefore 1 stater is less than  $\frac{4}{5}$  of a Daric; it would suit the context better if the difference were fairly small than if it were large.

The mina is generally and plausibly taken to be the Attic silver mina (as in 2. 22 and probably 5. 21), = 100 drachmae. Now the stater is normally a (Greek) gold coin worth 20 drachmae and the Daric is almost invariably a (Persian) gold coin also worth 20 drachmae: but this cannot be the case here, as then 5 staters would be more not less than 4 Darics. Proposed solutions: (1) The stater meant is not gold but (a) silver (Hicks, Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xix [1906], 389 sqq.; the silver stater = 4 drachmae, so that Eueteris' offer would be very much out of proportion with the other figures) or (b) electrum (Nairn; but the value of this was probably more than that of the Daric, see Reinach, l.c.) or (c) copper (Meister; but see Nairn). (2) The stater is not that of Alexander and his immediate successors (weighing 8.6 grammes), but that of Ptolemy Philadelphos (6.9 grammes), and the Daric is not the original Persian coin (8.4 grammes), but the Macedonian gold stater which was called *Δαρεικὸς Φιλίππειος* (8.6 grammes), so that 5 staters (34.5 grammes) and 4 Darics (34.4 grammes) are virtually identical, but the old coinage would be considered more valuable than the new (Herzog). (3) The Daric is

really the double-Daric (rejected by Nairn; this coin was confined to the Far East). None of these is free from difficulty or obscurity, and a certain decision will be possible, if ever, only when the coinage of the third century has been more thoroughly investigated than is at present the case.

However that may be, it is clear that the sums are vastly in excess of the normal cost of shoes (2 drachmae in Lucian's time, 8 for an expensive pair in that of Aristophanes; see Headlam). This is not exaggeration by K. (Reinach) nor extravagance by the women (Nairn), nor is it 'aurum comicum' (Headlam): the prices, apparently of shoes, are really of baubons, which are naturally more expensive, especially such fine ones as K. makes.

1-63. M. and the other ladies arrive at K.'s shop. K. has them seated and shows them his wares, praising their quality at great length.

1. Either γ[ύνας (for the form cf. Philippid. 2, Men. [?] *Fr.* 937, *Com. Adesp.* 1336) or ν[έας (cf. 1. 19, 7. 75; 'new customers' [Herzog] is hardly possible), followed by εἰ ('to see if', cf. 6. 100), is probable. γ[υναικας] τί (Blass) is too long for the space, and τί at the end of the verse is against Herodas' practice (5. 69 n.).

3. χειρέων: cf. A. *Ch.* 231 ἰδοῦ δ' ὕφασμα τοῦτο, σῆς ἔργον χερός. For the form see 6. 11 n.

νοῆρες: 'skilled'. ἀπ. λεγ., the adv. νοαρέως only in Hsch. ν 606; cf. φρενέρης, M. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter* 66.

3-4. οὐ μάτην . . . φιλ(έ)ω σε: 'not without reason do I love you'. Headlam compares the Lat. *merito te amo* (Ter. *HT* 360, *Eun.* 186, *Ad.* 946). K.'s reason for saying this at this point is her bringing of business to him; but at the same time it is the first hint that his relationship with M. is not simply that of shopkeeper with customer. To take οὐ μάτην M. by itself, sc. ἄγεις (Crusius, Herzog), leaves ἐγὼ φιλ(έ)ω σε stranded.

4-13. K.'s slave, like Koritto's in 6, has neglected to put out seats, and is duly punished.

5. τὴν μέζον' . . . σανίδ': 'the larger bench', to accommodate all the customers.

6. Πίστε: a slave-name ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου (Hellad. *apud*. Phot. *Bibl.* 532b), which suits here.

7. ἐκχέει: in Hom. a god ὕπνον χέει ἐπὶ someone or someone's eyes (Il. 14. 164, Od. 2. 395, etc.): Hds. coins an opposite expression.

8-25. Col. 35 in P. A strip has been lost down the second half of the column; parts of the top and bottom of this, containing 3 and 4 lines respectively, were found separately and replaced by Crusius (2nd ed.) and Kenyon (*Arch. Pap.* i [1901], 384) respectively. The

consequent inevitable supplement in 23 determines the distance between the surviving parts of the column, which in the facsimile are shown about 2 mm. too close together.

8-9. τήν ἄκανθαν: 'the thorn' is presumably a brush used to treat the leather. It is to be tied to the sleeper's neck, so that when his head nods it will sting him. So Headlam. Knox formerly punctuated after ἄκανθαν, 'but rather hit his back' (*LSJ* s.v. ἄκανθα 6), but an object is required with ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου δῆσον.

ὡς ἐχ[ . . . ] . καληι: unexplained. Knox rightly states that the gap is larger than ἐχ[ε]ι (Crusius); even ἐχ[ρη]ν (Herzog) and ἐχ[ω]ν (Knox, Loeb ed.) are rather short; ἐχ[ει ἀ]νκαληι (Knox) and ἐχ[ει ἐ]νκαληι (Edmonds) fit. ἐχ[ει at least is probable. If καληι is sound, the quantity of the *ā* can be explained only if it is from καλός (115 n.) (ἀγκάληι [Knox *olim*] is impossible), and this is perhaps possible, sc. δέσει, cf. 5. 31 δέδετα καλῶς, A. Ag. 1640 ζεύξω βαρέαις. Edmonds conjectured ἐν κάλωι (= ἐν ξύλωι), but this can hardly coexist with ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου; Knox ἔχων κλάηι, which may be right.

εἴ]α δῆ: 'come on then', cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 1650. K. turns back to Drimylos.

[. . . ]ψ: of the various terms of abuse proposed Κέρκωψ (Headlam) fits the gap, κόλλωψ (Crusius) and μῶλωψ (Diels) are too short, and οἰκότρυψ (Crusius *olim*) is too long. If Κέρκωψ is correct however, there will hardly be a reference to Herakles hanging two Κέρκωπες upside down on his shoulder.

10-11. γούνα: the knees are λαυφηρά in Il. 22. 204, and Nonn. D. 9. 155, *al.*, has ταχύγονους.

[μ]έζον . . . τῶνδε: this is clearly a threat that his future punishment will be noisier than the present, i.e. that he will be chained. For μέζον φοφεύντα cf. Plaut. Trin. 1022 *cruricrepidae*, Asin. 34 *ferricrepinas insulas*; for τρίβειν cf. 5. 62. Headlam's νουθ[ετημάτων] fits exactly and is very probable; cf. Pl. Lg. 879 c πληγαῖς . . . νουθετεῖν; νουθ[ετήματ' ἐκ] (Crusius, Herzog) is slightly short. The verb will then stand at the beginning of 10; Knox's [ἔχην]αζ fits space and traces (cf. 27 n.), but the tense is strange.

12. The sense is probably the same as 6. 9. Hence Headlam's supplement of the verb is likely. This may well be preceded by an abusive vocat.: λε[ιόπυγε] (Knox) would fit if λαμπ[ρύνεις] is right, λε[υκόπυγε] (Crusius) if φαιδ[ρύνεις]. But there are other possibilities.

μιν αὐτήν: such combinations in Hom. are not pleonastic, but αὐτός has its usual emphasizing force (Schwyzer ii. 191 β), but in later poets this seems to have been overlooked: cf. A.R. 4. 1316 αὐτόν δέ μιν . . . οἶον . . . προσεῖπον. Those who doubt this will read αὐταί (Brunck) or ἄντην (Fränkel) in A.R., μέν (Headlam) here.

13. Knox's supplement at the beginning fits space and traces (ψ was

first read by Blass), and gives a better connection with ψήσω than other proposals. His τήν [κοχώνην ἐκ]ψήσω probably gives the sense, but it is too short, as is Crusius's τήν [ἔδρην ἀπο]ψήσω.

14-35. K. has his wares brought out, and praises them at length, dwelling especially on the exquisite colour. Many details are obscure.

14. ἔξεσθε, Μητροί: cf. 3. 87 n.

τήν διπλὴν οἰζῆας Herzog, who reproduces (Tafel XIII) a shoe-case with double doors from a wall-painting in Herculaneum.

15. πυργίδα: ἄπ. λεγ., but the diminutive πυργίσκος 'cabinet' is found in later writers (see LSJ).

The second half of the line will probably have contained an indication of the correct one: τήν δ' ἄνω κείνην Headlam, τήν δ' ἐκεῖσε . . .] Knox.

16. ἔργα: probably object of ἐνεγκε in 17 (Knox takes with ἀρο]ν in 15).

E.g. τοῦ τρ[ίβωνος Κέρδων]ος (Sitzler).

18. οἱ ἔργ' ἐπόψεσθ': cf. 4. 57, S. OT 1224 οἱ ἔργ' ἀκούσεσθ', οἶα δ' εἰσόψεσθ'.

19. σαμβαλούχην: this and the equivalent σαμβαλουχίς in 53 are ἄπ. λεγ. It is clearly a case or box in which a pair of shoes is stored. Headlam notes the unique fem. of an adj. in -οῦχος.

E.g. τοῦτ' ὄρη] (Blass) or τοῦτό σοι] (Knox).

20. τελέων: probably genit. with ]εων, not accus. sing. of τέλεως with ἵχνος. The sense is probably 'the shoe is put together from perfect [ ]'. (Knox's ἐκ μερ]έων is a little short.)

22. ὅπως: 2. 28-9 n.

χ[: probably καί in crasi. χ[ῶτι σ]φηνί[σκ]οις (Kenyon; Puccioni's χ[ὼς εἰδ] σ]φηνί[σκ]οις is too long), 'with wedge-shaped decorations', suits ἐξηρτῶται πᾶσα better than χ[ὼς σά]φ' ἡνί[σκ]οις (Knox), as straps would not be fitted to all the heel.

23. ἐξηρτῶται: ἄπ. λεγ., and the simple verb does not occur. Hds. has coined a metrically more convenient equivalent of ἐξαρτύω.

23-4. 'And it is not the case that some parts are well made, while others are not, but all the craftsmanship is equal.' Cf. 4. 73, Hdt. 1. 139 οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως, D. 24. 71 ἔστι γὰρ οὐ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ καλῶς κείμενον, τὸ δ' ἡμαρτημένον, ἀλλ' ὅλος . . ., and other passages given by Headlam. For χεῖρες cf. 4. 72.

25-7. The construction will be similar to that of 3. 1 sqq. τὸ χρῆμα, placed initially for emphasis, belongs with 27.

25. Πα[ . . . ]: Πά[λλας] (Kenyon), though suitable in introducing the goddess of handicraft (6. 65), is, pace Edmonds, too long, as Knox says; the latter's Πά[φου], with μ[εδέου] in 26, is likely—another hint at the real subject.

26-42. Col. 36 in P. A strip has been detached containing the

left-hand part of the column; part of this remains, with the initial letters of 26-32, and was placed exactly for height by Sitzler (its distance from the main part cannot be exactly determined).

26. *ῥωωνπ*]ερ Headlam.

*ἰχανῶσθ'*: an old Ion. word, probable v.l. in Il. 23. 300, Od. 8. 288, also in Babr. 77. 2, the variant form *ἰχαίνειν* in Call. *Fr.* 178. 22 (cf. 10-11 n.), the middle only here.

28. Probably 'bees-wax [the material used in encaustic painting, cf. Headlam] will not shine so bright', but whether *κοῦδέ* (vulg.) or *κοῦ δέ* (Herzog, Knox) is to be read is uncertain.

29. E.g. *χ[ρυσσοῦ στατήρα]ς* (Knox) or *χ[θές οὖν στατήρα]ς* (Edmonds; *χ[θές]* Sitzler).

*Κανδᾶτ[ι]*: *Κανδᾶτ[ι]* (Kenyon; better -δι, cf. 6. 25 n.) with 30 *Κ[έρδων]* (Knox) has become the vulgate: but this is inconsistent with the traces, which suit *Κανδᾶτ[ο]ς* (Diels) (the accent makes *Κανδάτ[ο]υ* [Crusius] unlikely). Possibly the *βυρσοδέψης* of 6. 87.

32. E.g. *κῶ[σια, γυναικες,]* (Crusius) or *κῶ[σο] ἔστιν ὅσια* (Headlam). *βάζειν*: 2. 102 n.

33. *οὐδ' ὅσον ροπήν*: one is tempted to take these words together, 'not even a little' (exx. of such phrases are given by Headlam), but such a sense of *ροπή* is dubious. Appearances may be deceptive: *ροπήν* may be the object of a lost verb (Knox, suggesting at various times *βρίθει*, *καθέλκειν*, and *ἀμείψεται*), with *οὐδ' ὅσον* by itself (cf. Headlam, Gow on Theoc. 9. 20).

34. *ἦ*] *Κέρδωνι* (Bücheler) is probable. 'I speak the truth, or else . . .', cf. Theoc. 5. 14-15.

*βίου ὄνησις*: 3. 2 n.

35. *μ[ηδ']* Sitzler.

36-48. K. expands on his troubles—high price of materials (?), work night and day, a large household to feed.

36. *οὐ γ]ὰρ ἀλλά* is likely, cf. 6. 101.

37. *ὀριγνῶνται*: 'grasp at'. The subject is probably *οἱ βυρσοδέψαι* (Crusius) or an equivalent word.

38. 'The productions, results, of our craft' Headlam, cf. Pl. *Grg.* 452 a *ἦ τὸ τῆς σῆς τέχνης ἔργον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀγαθόν*, referring to his customers. Or 'The profits of our craft' Terzaghi, Puccioni, cf. D. 27. 17 *γίγνεται δ', εἰάν τις συντιθῇ τό τ' ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῶν δέκ' ἐτῶν, μάλιστα τρία τάλαντα*, Agis *AP* 6. 152, referring to the *βυρσοδέψαι*.

39. *πίσσυγγος*: possibly *πίσσυγγος* should be written, cf. Lobel-Page on Sapph. 110. Apparently a colloquialism.

*δειλαίην*: there is no need to scan -υ- with Headlam (though this is in itself possible), cf. Appendix III, 3.

40. 'I sit at work night and day' is probably the sense, but *δίφρ]ον* (Diels, cf. 1. 76-7) cannot be read. If *ἀν[τλ]έων* (Bücheler) is right, it

will have οἰζύν as object, rather than be used absolutely; but there are other possibilities.

41. ἡὼ τί]ς or ἐπεὶ τί]ς Knox, τίς ἔστ' ὅ]ς Edmonds. σῖτον τί]ς (Cataudella) is too long (as is Edmonds's τὰ σῖτα κ]αί in 42), and κάπτει is probably used absolutely.

ἄχρ<ς>: Hds. elsewhere has ἄχρ<ς>, always before vowels.

42. ἡ πῖετ]αι (Knox) carries on the idea of 41, and is therefore better than ἀυπνῖ]αι (Herzog), which returns awkwardly to 40. ἡ ἀμπαύετ]αι or ἡ ρέγγετ]αι (Galiano and Gil, the former after Cataudella) are much too long.

43. κηρί': probably 'honey' (as Hippon. 26. 9); 'candles' Herzog, but this sense is apparently not attested in pre-Christian literature. This is certainly the reading of P, not θηρί', as edd. before Herzog (except Crusius *olim*) thought.

44. κοῦπω λέγω: 'and I haven't yet mentioned that . . . '.

τρισκαίδε[κ: for the indeclinable form cf. Jebb on B. 10. 92; or Hds. may have written τρεῖς-.

The popular [οἰκέτας] (Crusius) is too long; [οὗς ἐγώ] (Edmonds) and [εἰ Κᾶρας] (Knox) fit, and give a reasonable construction. They are more likely to be children than slaves, because K. is pleading poverty (Sitzler) and because of 48 (Krakert).

β]όσσω: contemptuous, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 260-1 γυναικάς, ἄς βόσκομεν κατ' οἰκίαν ἐμφανὲς κακόν.

45. ἀργ[ίη πάντε]ς (Headlam) fits the space; cf. 6. 16-17.

46. κῆν ὕηι Ζεὺς: 'even if times are bad'. Cf. Theoc. 4. 41-3 θαρσεῖν χρῆ, φίλε Βάττε· τάχ' αὖριον ἔσσειτ' ἄμεινον . . . χῶ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει. ὕηι is unusual (Headlam can quote only ὕειν in a proverb *apud* Plu. *Mor.* 917 b); cf. θῶω etc.

ἄιδουσ]ι and ἴσασι]ν (Crusius) fit the space; a slight point against the former is that Hds. elsewhere has αἰδεῖν. Other proposals are too long.

47. φέρ' εἰ φέρεις τι: 'give, if you've anything to give'. Cf. *Carm. Pop.* 2 (848). 17 ἂν δὴ φέρῃς τι, μέγα δὴ τι φέροις, Theoc. 5. 78 εἴα λέγ' εἴ τι λέγεις, Plaut. *Mil.* 215 *age si quid agis*.

ἀ[σ]φ[αλεῖς ἔ]σται (Herzog; ἀ[σ]φ[αλέως Headlam, ἔ]σται Meister) fits traces and space. They are immovable except when food is being provided, like young birds.

48. κοχῶνας: a medical term denoting τὴν σύζευξιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἰσχύοις τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔδραν (Gal. xix. 114), i.e. 'perineum', which was used vulgarly for 'buttock' (Old Com. and here; possibly Hippon. 151b, though the grouping of authorities in Sch. Hp. p. 214 = Erot. Fr. 17 [Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, Γλαυκίας καὶ Ἰσχύμαχος καὶ Ἰππῶναξ; a list of comic poets follows later] supports Bergk's view that a grammarian Hipponax is meant).



49-63. K., apparently noticing signs of dissatisfaction among his customers, has more items brought out, and expands on the variety of his stock.

49-50. ἀλλ' . . . γάρ: the 'complex' use (Denniston 98 sq.); here the particles might be taken as completely separate, with dashes after ἀλλ' and δέ.

The proverb referred to is οὐ λόγων ἀγορά δέεται 'Ελλάδος ἀλλ' ἔργων (Suda ο 906), used ἐπὶ τῶν κομπαζόντων, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 378-80 *semper tibi copia fandi tum cum bella manus poscunt . . . sed non replenda est curia uerbis*. But to K. the ἀγορά is the place of trade, not that of oratory, and he changes the antithesis to suit: 'business requires not talk but money'. In fact he carries on talking, and it is M. who has to ask the price (64). The resemblance to 1. 78-9 is superficial.

χαλκῶν: 'money', from χαλκός (not χαλκοῦς); a Hellenistic use, commoner in papyri than literature (Schmidt 43 sqq.).

51. μάλ': cf. Hdt. 1. 181. 3 πύργος . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος . . . καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

ἐξοίσει: sc. Pistos.

52. νόωι: read by Blass, and although the traces are difficult to reconcile with ω nothing else is possible. Cf. D. 8. 43 πεισθήσεσθε ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

μή: GMT § 685.

ψευδέα: the pl. is conventionally written as an adj., but there is no means of telling if the noun ψεύδεα (cf. 2. 101 n.) was not intended.

53. σφ[μβα]λουχίδας: cf. 19 n. and Theoc. 5. 145 κερουχίδες with Gow's note.

54. P is very difficult to read here, but the most likely interpretation of the traces is: δικάλισγεννηθειςας. From this Edmonds made δεῖ κάλ' εἰς γένη θείσας, sc. τοὺς πόδας: an unlikely expression, apart from the deletion of ν. Other more attractive proposals cannot be reconciled with the traces: δ(ε)ῖ 'γκάλιστ' εἶ νηθείσας Knox (there is hardly space for γκ; τ cannot be read; εἶν is too short); δ(ε)ῖ γ' ἄλῃς νοῦν ἡσθείσας Crusius (γ is unlikely; νοῦν is too long; there is no σ sscr. in P). The solution has yet to be found.

56. γέ[νεα] ταῦτα πα[ν]τοῖα: 'here are all kinds'; cf. Eub. 121 θές ἐπτάκλινον. — ἐπτάκλινος οὔτοσί.

57-61. K. names his wares, showing the variety of his stock. The effect of a rapid turning from box to box is increased by the frequent resolutions (two in 57, 60, 61, one in 58; two resolutions in one line elsewhere only in 1. 30, in a similar list). Many of the names recur only in lexicographers (especially Poll. 7. 93-4, Hsch.); several are ambiguous (see on Νοσοίδες, λείαι, Βαυκίδες, καρκίνα, κοκκίδες below).

57. Σικυώνι(α) and Ἀμβρακίδια: named from their place of origin.

The former recur in Duris 76 F 12, Macho 158 Gow, Luc. *Rh. Pr.* 15 (πίλοις τοῖς λευκοῖς ἐπιπρέπουσα), Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2. 11. 116. 2, Poll., Hsch., and in Latin authors (Wilkins on Cic. *de or.* 1. 231), the latter only in the form Ἀμβρακίδες in Poll.

Νοσσίδες: also in Poll. and Hsch. ν 661. 'These had their name doubtless from some notable wearer of them as those mentioned by Poll. 7. 89 ἀπὸ τῶν χρησαμένων Ἰφικρατίδες, Δεινιάδες, Ἀλκιβιάδες, Σμυνδυρίδια, Μυννάκια ἀπὸ Μυννάκου. So boots have been named from Wellington, Blücher, Joinville' (Headlam). Similarly Βαυκίδες in 58. Νοσσίδες recalls the Νοσσίς ἡρίνης of 6. 20 (n.), and that this is no coincidence is shown (Lloyd-Jones) by Βαυκίδες, Baukis being the friend of the poetess Erinna and the subject of her Ἥλακάτη. (*LSJ* derive from νεοσσίς, but do not explain why shoes should be called 'nestlings'.)

Λεῖαι: not found elsewhere, but an easily understandable epithet of shoes, even more so of baubons (cf. 6. 71-2). Headlam's Χῖαι (a known type of shoe) is at least unnecessary.

58. Ψιττάκια: 'green shoes', either the colour of a parrot, ψιττακός, or that of the fruit of the tree πιστάκη (see Ath. 649 c-e; the word is foreign, and the initial consonant varies between π, φ, ψ, β).

κανναβίσκα: sandals of hemp-rope. καν(ν)άβια in Poll., Hsch. κ 627.

Βαυκιδ[ες]: Ar. *Fr.* 342, Alex. 98. 7; Ion. according to Anon. in *EN* p. 200. 10 sqq., πολυτελές and κροκοειδές according to Poll. See above on Νοσσίδες.

βλαῦται: see *LSJ*. 'That Hds., when he might have written βλαῦται, chose the extraordinary scansion βλαντία [Crusius and Puccioni] passes my belief' Headlam; still less credible that he wrote βλανττία (Nairn *olim*, Knox, Cataudella); for YT and TT cf. 3. 72.

59. ἀμφίσφαιρα: 'shoes with buttons round them', also in Hsch. α 4121 and in Poll. (in the guise of ἀμφίσφυρα, whence Latte corrupts Hsch., as Rutherford did Hds.). For the formation see Schwyzler i. 435.

νυχτιπήδηκες: 'night-walkers', also in Poll. A colloquial personification, cf. πηλοπατίδες 'mud-treaders'.

60. ἀκροσφύρια: 'shoes with high ankles', boots; also in Hsch. α 2623 (as ἀκρόσφυρα) and Poll.

καρκίνια: 'crab-shoes', probably from their colour and possibly ambiguous, cf. on 128. Only here, but καρκίνος as a calf-boot is found in Pherecr. 178, Hsch. κ 832, Phot.

σάμβαλ': said to be Aeol. (Sapph. 110a) for σάνδαλον, but also Dor. (Eumel. 1 (696)) and Ion. (Call. *Fr.* 631 etc., and cf. the diminutive, 125 n., and ποικιλοσάμβalos in Anacr. 13 (358). 3).

Ἀργεῖα: certainly an epithet, not a separate type (Nairn), the name of which was Ἀργεῖαι (Eup. 266 s.v.l., Hsch. α 7014, Poll. 7. 88).

61. κοκκίδες: not elsewhere. Cf. 6. 19 κόκκινον βαυβῶνα.

ἐφηβοί: not elsewhere, and the reason for such an appellation is obscure (I hesitate to suggest that this too is ambiguous, referring to the virility of youth). Crusius once conjectured ἐφηλοι.

διάβαθρ': also in Alex. 98. 8 (worn by tall women who wish to look shorter, therefore without heels), Hsch. δ 941, Poll., Lat. *diabathrum*.

62. ὥς ἄν αἰσθοισθε: relative and final, 'so that in this way you may realize'; an Ion. construction, cf. *KG* ii. 386.

63. 'Why women and dogs eat leather.' An adaptation of a proverb, put into the form of a γρίφος. Dogs proverbially never forget how to gnaw through a leather lead once they have learned; equally women never forget how to eat a baubon (with τὰ τῶν αἰδοίων χεῖλη, cf. 112 n.; possibly also a reference to oral use of the baubon, known from vases). K. brings the real subject, hinted at in his list, into the open, for shoes cannot in any sense be eaten. (See G. Williams, *CR* n.s. ix [1959], 99, and my note in *CQ* n.s. xiv [1964], 34. The contortions of previous edd. need not be recounted.)

βρώζουσιν: βέβρωκα βέβρωμαι ἐβρώθην were the only early forms of this stem, other tenses being formed later, a pres. only here and in βιβρώσκω Babr. 108. 9. Cf. Schwyzer i. 708 foot.

64-76. M. asks the price of one pair. K. invites her to value it herself, and remarks aside that he needs to get a good price.

64. κόσου: genit. of price with ἀπεμπολῆσαι.

65. ἀπεμπολῆσαι: Meister rejected this correction on the ground that the article was required with κείνο: but cf. X. *An.* i. 5. 16 πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι, Headlam, and Schmidt 28. The all but universally accepted ἀπεμπολῆν (Danielsson; usually followed by Kenyon's τὸ, μοι> Headlam) is a solecism (App. II. 15 (4)).

βροντέων: thunder belongs to Zeus (Call. *Fr.* i. 20), and is ascribed to those who set themselves up as despots (notably Perikles in Att. comedy—Ar. *Ach.* 531 etc.). K. is requested not to take up such an Olympian position, thundering from the clouds, and causing panic, but to come down to earth and act like a normal businessman.

66. οὔτος σύ: the imperative, rather rude οὔτος suits better than αὐτός, and is the more likely reading.

τρέψης: τρέψον in Headlam and subsequent edd. is a persistent misprint.

μέζον: with βροντέων.

67. αὐτὴ σὺ καὶ τίμησον: 'value it yourself!' The καί makes αὐτὴ (Knox, Cataudella), echoing οὔτος above, less likely than αὐτῇ (vulg.).

69. 'For the man who allows this (customers to state the price) does not readily cheat you.' ῥινᾶν occurs also in Pherecr. 23, Men. *Sik.* fr. 10. The text is that of Crusius and Herzog (οἰρουτοῦων read by Meister, ρινα by Blass); the third and last words however are very difficult to read, and other interpretations cannot be absolutely ruled out.

70-3. 'If you wish, lady, the true craftsmanship of pairs, you will say something—I swear by this ashen head, on which the fox has made its lair—quickly affording bread to wielders of tools.'

70. ζευγέων: read by Milne. Edd. up to and including Herzog read δευτεων (Kenyon) or σκυτεων (Bücheler), but ζε is rather more likely than δε or σκ, and γ much more likely than τ.

θέληις: with accus. alone, as in Mel. *AP* 7. 197. 6 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ τοῦτο, 12. 68. 1 οὐκ ἐθέλω Χαρίδαμον, Antiphil. or Phld. *AP* 5. 308. 2 ὁ θέλεις δώσομεν, *al.* Page on Mel. l.c. notes the inadequacy of *LSJ* s.v. Some have taken ἦν θέληις alone, 'if you wish' (finding something to govern ἔργον in various unlikely ways), but that would be εἰ θέλεις (as 67, 92, 8. 6, 14).

71. κόρσην: clearly the whole head (*LSJ* s.v. I 4).

72. ἐπ' . . . πεποιήται: i.e. which has been attacked by the disease ἀλωπεκία (Gal. xix. 431 ἀ. ἐστὶ μεταβολὴ τοῦ χρώματος ἐπὶ τὸ λευκότερον, δι' ἣν χρονίζουσιν αἱ τρίχες ριζόθεν ἀποπίπτουσι; cf. id. xii. 281 sq.; still called alopecia). The word, whatever its real origin, was inevitably associated with ἀλώπηξ, whence the personifications here and in Call. *Dian.* 78-9 ὥς ὅτε κόρσηι φωτὸς ἐνιδρυθεῖσα κόμην ἐπενείματ' ἀλώπηξ (possibly already in S.: Pearson on *Fr.* 419).

73. ἀλφιτηρόν: which will provide ἀλφίτα; the suffix exactly as in πλουτηρός, λιμηρός, μοχθηρός, etc.

74. K. invokes Hermes, the god of merchants, and Persuasion, the patroness of good speakers (and as Puccioni recalls, sometimes said to be Hermes' wife, Nonn. *D.* 5. 574, 8. 221), and gives them epithets which are suitable in themselves and especially suitable here as resembling his own name and as continuing the fox motif (the fox being proverbially cunning and in fact known as κερδῶ). Cf. in general the prayer of Odysseus in S. *Ph.* 133-4 Ἐρμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιο νῶιν Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνα Πολιάς, ἥ σώζει μ' αἰεί.

Κερδέων: an epithet like Τύχων; for the formation see Headlam and Schwyzer i. 488, 521. Ἐρμῆς κερδῶιος is common.

κερδείη: ἄπ. λεγ.

75. ὥς: giving the reason for his invocation—he needs a good catch badly, therefore must have divine aid.

ἐς βόλον κύρσηι: 'chance into the catch of the net'. An extension of such phrases as ἐς βόλον ἔρχεσθαι (*E. Rh.* 730), πεσεῖν (*E. Alex.* [D. L. Page, *Gr. Lit. Pap.* no. 9] 37). βόλος, as Headlam shows, is never the net itself, but the cast or spread of it (sometimes concrete, the catch which falls into the spread).

76. ἡ χύτρη: symbolizing his household fortunes; cf. the proverb ζεῖ χύτρα, ζεῖ φιλία (*Zen.* 4. 12). P has here the mixed Att.-Ion. form χύτρη, while Stob. gives the Ion. κύτρη in 12. 1; the latter is restored here by Rutherford and others, but I am not convinced that Hds.

could not have used both (it would have been different if P had had *χύτρα*).

77-96. K. is finally prevailed upon to state the price, and is rewarded with sarcasm and abuse.

77. *τονθορύξεις*: P's original *τονθορύξει* is defended as dat. of \**τονθόρυξις* by Blass, but the formation is unlikely, and as 2nd pers. fut. mid. by Nairn *olim* and LSJ, but the mid. is not found and a fut. unwanted here.

ἐλευθέρηι: because *τονθορύζειν* is a characteristic of slaves who dare not speak out.

78. *τίμον*: a mainly poetic (Archil. 94. 2, A. Ch. 916, Com. Adesp. 1164) variant of *τιμή*, always in the sense 'price', and perhaps originally formed to differentiate 'honour' and 'price'; but as Hds. uses *τιμή* also in this sense (2. 82, 89, 7. 68), its use here is probably *metri causa*.

ἐξεδίφησας: search out (from the mind). *διφᾶν* is a rare verb, probably Ion. (Il. 16. 747, Hes. Op. 374, Hds. 6. 73, cf. 3. 54, Call. Fr. 1. 19, Epigr. 31. 2, 41. 5, and later epic; Cratin. 2 *ἀναδιφᾶν* and Ar. Nu. 192 *ἐρεβοδιφᾶν* probably echo the language of Ion. science). Its occurrence here however is unexpected: after *γλάσσηι* one expects a verb meaning 'speak out', such as *ἐξεφώνησας* (Richards; unlikely corruption).

80. ἦ . . . βλέπειν: 'you may look up or down'. This may mean 'whether you look happy or sad' (Headlam; cf. E. Cyc. 210-11 *τάχα τις ὑμῶν τῷ ξύλῳ δάκρυα μεθήσει· βλέπετ' ἄνω καὶ μὴ κάτω*, Plu. Mor. 528 *εἰ τὴν κατήφειαν ὀρίζονται λύπην κάτω βλέπειν ποιοῦσαν*) or 'whether you look up to heaven (to call the gods to witness) or not' (Crusius, Nairn, Herzog; cf. Mosch. Fr. 4. 5 *εἴπε δ' ἄνω βλέψας αὐτῷ Διί*) or 'whether you affect to despise or not' (Knox; cf. Thphr. Char. 24. 8 *πορευόμενος μὴ λαλεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι κάτω κεκυφώς*). The first suits the context best. A reference to their close examination of the shoes (Meister, Puccioni; cf. E. Ph. 181 *ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τείχη μετρῶν*) would have little point.

σ<τ>: Headlam's slight correction is rightly adopted by Knox, Cataudella, and Puccioni. With σ, the infin. must be limitative, but would be far beyond the usual bounds of this construction (Schwyzer ii. 378 δ with literature), and the accus. would be especially objectionable.

80-2. 'Any shaving of copper whatsoever, if Athene herself were the buyer, would not come off.' Cf. Plaut. Rud. 1329-30 LA. *eloquere quantum postules*. GR. *quo nihil inuitus addes: talentum magnum. non potest triobolum hinc abesse*.

ὃ δῆκοτ' ἐστί: apparently a unique expression. The universalizing relative ὃ τῷ is usual, with or without verb (cf. Headlam and Denniston

221 sq.), and in late writers who use the simple relative the verb is omitted (cf. Headlam).

ἄν: the position is unusual, and can be explained only by assuming that χαλκοῦ . . . ἐστί is regarded as a complex unit and that τῆς . . . αὐτῆς is regarded as a parenthesis not affecting the order, so that ἄν is in effect second word. Normal would have been οὐκ ἄν (the sentence being divided into three cola), and but for the metre Hds. would surely have so written.

83. στεγύλλιον: ἄπ. λεγ. The diminutive contributes to the sarcasm.

84. τε καί: as in Hdt. I. 31. I πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια etc.

85. 'Guard them carefully for yourself.' σ' = σοι, cf. μ(οι) 5. 9 (so Diels; Blass changed the καρτασαντα he read in P to κάρτα ταῦτα); this is better than Edmonds's σ(ᾶ), 'keep them very safe'. P has κα (not λ) (upright) (τ or γ) ασαντα: the only readings compatible with this are Blass's and that of Knox, κᾶργασ' (καὶ ἔργασο) αὐτά, to which Edmonds rightly objects that they are already made.

85-8. Hekatê is arranging the wedding of her daughter Artakene (ethnic from Ἀρτακή), and the participants and guests at the festivity will require new shoes. M. suggests that the need will be so pressing that K.'s price will be met—but *she* will certainly not pay it. The idea that Ἐκάτη is the goddess and Ἀρτακήνη an epithet of Aphrodite, and that the reference is to a religious festival celebrating the marriage of the latter, presumably to Adonis, involves the apparently impossible task of connecting Hekate with such a festival. Rose objects to the common view because 91-2 refer to goddesses and because no ordinary wedding would be known about so long (at least three weeks) in advance: but there is no need to see goddesses in 91-2 (as Headlam and Knox also do, from a desire to increase the parallelism with 80-2), and the latter point is incapable of proof.

Ταυρεῶνος: the name of a month, also in Hippon. 78. 12 and in inscriptions from many cities in Asia Minor (*RE* iv A 2. 2537-8, *CQ* n.s. xvi [1966], 116 n. 1).

88. τάλης: Schmidt 38 would render 'mein Lieber', comparing the weakened sense of the vocat. τάλαν, τάλαινα in Ar. (e.g. *Ec.* 242), but this is unnecessary: M.'s sarcasm may easily become abuse, 'wretch' (3. 35 n., q.v. also for the form).

ἄϊξουσι: P apparently has ἀξουσι (read by Crusius) without ι. ἥξουσι (Danielsson, Herwerden) is just possible.

σὺν τύχηι: Hds has σὺν only in this stereotyped phrase and in the religious context of 4. 3, 88.

89. μᾶλλον δὲ πάντως: 'but rather (they will) certainly (rush to you)', answering the doubt of τάχα. So Pl. *Grg.* 527 α καὶ σε ἴσως τυπτήσῃ τις [καὶ] ἐπὶ κόρρης ἀτίμως καὶ πάντως προπηλακεῖ.

ἀλλά: expressing the transition from argument to action (Denniston 14 sq.).

θύλακον: K. has so much money that he needs a sack, not a purse!

ράψαι: imp. mid., with causative sense 'have them stitched'; cf. *KG* i. 108 sq.

90. ὅκως: with the fut. indic. in a final clause, cf. *GMT* § 324, *KG* ii. 384 Anm. 4.

γαλαῖ: proverbial thieves, cf. *Ar. V.* 363-4 ὥσπερ με γαλῆν κρέα κλέψασαν τηροῦσιν, *Apollod. Car.* 6 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς τέκτων ὀχυρὰν οὕτως ἐποίησεν θύραν δι' ἧς γαλῆ καὶ μοιχὸς οὐκ εἰσέρχεται, *Luc. Pisc.* 34 ἀρπακτικώτεροι τῶν γαλῶν, *Semon.* 7. 50-5.

διοίσουσι: 'plunder', in which sense *διαφορᾶν* is more common.

92. ἦ: P's *η* is a simple error (*ἦ* Meister, Blass: 'nimis requisitum' *Crusius*, rightly).

93-5. A sneering question—'what fine customers you have!' This punctuation makes the transition with ἀλλά in 95 much more effective than taking it as a statement with Headlam and Knox. The *Pothoi* and *Erotes*, personifications of πόθος and ἔρως, confer these qualities on those whom they touch (cf. *Theoc.* 10. 25 ὦν γάρ χ' ἄψησθε, *θεαί* [sc. *Μοῖσαι*], καλὰ πάντα ποιεῖτε.

95. κνῦσα: 'itch'. *ἀπ. λεγ.*: from κνύω, whence also κνύζα, κνῦμα, κνύος; it is not necessary to read κνύζα with Danielsson and Meister.

κακὴ λώβη: cf. *Call. Fr.* 194. 102 ὦ κακὴ λώβη, ὡς δὴ μὲν ἡμέων καὶ σὺ; This parallel rules out *Crusius*'s suggestion that λώβη is used in its late sense of 'leprous', carrying on the image of κνῦσα.

96. The general sense would seem to be 'so that from me you will get nothing', but *λιρ*(or *σ*) *λεοσεω* has not been convincingly emended. We may ignore many violent suggestions, also those involving σέω (= σέο ἦ) *πρῆξις* (*Bücheler*), as a verb is surely required. *Αἰολέος* (*J. I. Beare, CR* xviii [1904], 287-8) is the best explanation of the beginning, but neither *Beare*'s <πλ>έω (*Aeolian* taken as a deceitful person, cf. *αἰολεῖν, αἰολίζειν*) nor *Knox*'s ἔω ('conceivably *Αἰολεύς* dreamt of great riches and woke to find himself robbed') is satisfactory; εω might be a misplaced correction of εο (i.e. *Αἰολέος* should be *Αἰολέως*; *Hds.* has only -έως as the genit. of -εύς, 4. 78, 8. 37), which has driven out a word meaning 'worse' (e.g. *χειρόν*) or 'less' (e.g. *μείον*); but the significance of *Αἰολέως* would still be obscure.

97-112. *M.* asks how much another pair will cost another of the ladies. *K.* replies that she will get them at a reduced price because of his love for *M.*

97. ταύτη: one of the other customers. *M.* has disclaimed any intention of buying for herself. (It cannot = ἐμοί, as *Puccioni* thinks; οὗτος ἀνήρ in *Od.* 2. 40 is quite different.)

98. κόσου: in final position. Perhaps to be regarded as emphatic;

but note that in the terminology of K. J. Dover, *Gr. Word Order*, 34 sqq., the indispensable nuclei (N) of this sentence are ταύτηι and κεῖνο τὸ ἕτερον ζεύγος, and the dispensable concomitants (C) are δώσεις and κόσου, and that Dover shows a tendency in C to follow N, as here NCNC, though he does not quote a comparable instance to this. Metre has nothing to do with it, as ταύτηι and κόσου could be interchanged.

πάλιν: refers to 79 sqq. M. sarcastically invites him to give another demonstration of his greed.

πρήμηνον: 'blow'. Cf. 6. 8 n.

99. σεωυτοῦ: omitted in the text, but added in the margin (with an error) and in the upper margin (with an indication of where it should be added; cf. A. Brinkmann, *Rh. Mus.* lvii [1902], 481 sqq.).

στατήρας πέντε: object of 101 λαβεῖν, with which understand 'for them', and which is governed by ἀνώγουσα (με).

100. <Εὐ>ετηρίς: ΕΥ omitted before ΕΤ. Εὐετήριος and Εὐετηρία are known names.

102. κῆν: logically '(and I will not sell to her) even if', but K. is now absorbed in his hatred.

Δαρικοὺς: on ι/ει in this adj. see E. Schwyzer, *Indg. Forsch.* xlix (1931), 10 sqq.

103. οτεύνεκεν: variant of οτεύνεκα, found in anon. (? Archil.) *POxy.* 2317. 12 and Hellenistic writers.

104. κακοῖσι δέννοις: the same combination is probable in Archil. 120 (δεινοῖς codd.: corr. Herzog, *Philol.* lii [1893], 204-5), cf. S. *Aj.* 243 κακὰ δεινάζων. For this Ion. word see Herzog, l.c., and add that it is a plausible restoration also in Archil. 133.

εἰ δ[έ σοί γ' ἐσ]τι χρεῖη (Blass) and δ[έ καί σ' ἔχ]ει (Headlam) both fit traces and space; with the former γε may emphasize σοί or be combined with δέ, cf. Denniston 153, 155; for the latter cf. S. *Ph.* 646 ὅτου σε χρεῖα . . . ἔχει. A genit. is easily supplied (more easily than an accus. in Knox's δ[έ τῶνδ' ἔχ]ει, which is also slightly long; Ellis's δ[έ τῶνδ' ἐσ]οι does not fit the traces).

105. The division of words in φερεμβαλου, the metrically necessary addition after this, and the supplement after τριῶν, are all doubtful. The position is further complicated by doubt about whether Knox rightly placed a small fragment, ον (fr. 59), in the gap: if this belongs here at all, it may be from the beginning of the gap (when the . will be part of the υ of τριῶν) or from the end. (1) φέρει λαβοῦ<σα> (Blass)· τῶν τριῶν [θέλω (Bücheler)] δοῦναι Herzog and others, 'I wish to give you them for three Darics'. This is reasonable sense, although the middle φέρει is slightly odd and the omission of σα is inexplicable. (2) φέρ'—εὐλαβοῦ<σὺ> τῶν τριῶν [μῦαι] δοῦναι Headlam, 'beware of giving them to one of these three' (viz. Hekatê, Artakene, Eueteris). This is



the only proposal which accounts for the omission. It would introduce an ambiguity to lead up to 108 sqq. (cf. the reluctance to lend the baubons in 6). For *μῑαι* indefinite cf. Dodds on E. *Ba.* 917. (3) *φέρ'*—*εὐλαβοῦ* <δὲ> *τῶν τριῶν ὄν[αρ] δοῦναι* Knox (*apud* Headlam), 'beware of giving any of the three (baubons) even in dreams'. But as Edmonds says, *ὄναρ* = *μηδ'* *ὄναρ* is very difficult; also the previous dialogue has been about one pair only. (4) *φέρ'*—*εὐλαβοῦμαι* *τῶν τριῶν ὄν[ωι] δοῦναι* Edmonds, 'I know better than to give one of the three [of Stesichoros: strophe, antistrophe, epode; proverbially unknown to an ignorant person, Suda τ 943] to a donkey', i.e. than to let Eueteris have what she cannot appreciate. But *τῶν τριῶν* would scarcely be intelligible, and the use of the phrase so generally has not been proved. (5) *φέρ'*—*εὐλαβοῦμαι* *τῶν τριῶν [με]ῖζον δοῦναι* Knox (Loeb ed.), 'I beware of giving less than the three', an advance explanation of 106—he does not wish to break the set. *εὐλαβοῦμαι* however is not the most appropriate verb to use and there is no other indication that K.'s shoes are in sets of three or any other number, and this is inherently improbable. I think that the fragment probably does not belong here, and that Headlam's is the best proposal, but it remains uncertain.

106. 'And you may have these and these for seven Darics.' The construction, recognized by Knox, is most surprising: apart from S. *Ph.* 300 *φέρει . . . μάθης*, which is probably an extension of *φέρει εἶπω*, the positive jussive subj. in the 2nd and 3rd persons is a vulgarism of the *κοινή* (Elean inscr. iii B.C., LXX, Epict., *al.*; see Schwyzler ii. 316. 4 with literature), whence Hds. must be supposed to have taken it. P certainly has *ἡμιν* (not *υμιν* as Herzog reads); and to take *η* as *ῆ* (Knox *olim*) or *ῆ* (Nairn, Budé ed.) gives no satisfactory sense. Edmonds's *[[καὶ]] ταύτην· τῆ* is a considerable change, and the ellipse is harsh.

107. *ἔκητι*: 2. 77 n.

*ἀντίπηγῃς*: read by Herzog.

108-12. These lines make it clear that the relationship of K. and M. is not merely that of shopkeeper and customer, but rather that of K. and Koritto in 6. 75 sqq., or even closer.

108-9. 'After *σαν* only two [narrow] letters are missing, and I can do no better than *σῆ ἂν ἰή'* Knox, and no one has improved on this. It leads up very well to 110.

*έόντα λίθινον*: one of the things to which people like *λίθοι* (6. 4 n.) are insensible is love (Theoc. 23. 20 *λάϊνε παῖ καὶ ἔρωτος ἀνάξιε* etc.). M. can break through this barrier; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 290 *illa mulier lapidem silicem subigere ut se amet potest*.

*ές θεούς ἀναπτῆναι*: cf. Anacr. 33 (378) *ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς "Ολυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφῃς διὰ τὸν "Ερωτ'*.

110. M.'s mouth contains not a tongue, but a sieve of pleasure, i.e.

something which strains pleasure and makes it purer and more refined. Crusius plausibly supposes a reference to καταγλωττισμός, kissing with the tongue as well as the lips, a practice well known in ancient as in modern times.

ἡθμόν: the easiest correction of P's ἡθμην or ἡθμιν. Headlam conjectured ἴθμην (supposedly extracted from εἰσίσθη Od. 6. 264) or ἰσθμόν, but these could be applied only to the mouth, not to the tongue.

111. The idea is a commonplace, but the expression is closest to the original passage, Sapph. 31. 1-2 φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμεν' ὦνερ, ὅττις . . . , and seems a direct reminiscence. This makes Blass's supplement more likely than ἀπώικισται (Danielsson).

112. χεῖλεα . . . οἶγ[εις]: either M. opens her lips in καταγλωττισμός (110 n.) or the χεῖλη are those of her vagina (cf. Arist. HA 583<sup>a</sup>16 sqq., CQ.N.S. xiv [1964], 35 n. 4). So Herzog: Headlam thinks the meaning is 'to whom you speak loudly', but his exx. are of (ἀν)οίγειν στόμα, which is clearly different, and this sense is comparatively tame.

113-23. K. now fits shoes on two of the ladies.

113. ποδίσκον: flattering diminutive.

εἰς ἵ(χ)νος θῶ μιν or θῶμεν: 'let me place it to the sole', to see if the shoe fits. ἵχνος is the sole of a shoe in Hp. Art. 62, Arr. Ind. 16. 5. θῶμεν is perhaps a more likely construction; then it is better to understand the object than to take φέρε as an interjection.

114. πᾶς: 'enough!' An adv., found also in Men. Epit. 657, Diph. 96. 2, Ascl. AP 5. 181. 2, Latin comedy, and in compounds, from the root παγ- of πήγνυμι, originally a noun either in the nomin. (as Meister here) or in the ablat.-genit. (as Schwyzer i. 620). In Hsch. s.v. πᾶς· ὑπόδημα εὐνυπόδητον. ἢ τέλος ἔχει[ν], the first explanation seems to be a misunderstanding of this or a similar passage (Crusius).

μήτ' . . . μηδέν: i.e. it fits exactly. Cf. Isoc. 12. 264 ἐμακάριζον καὶ προσθεῖναι μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχον τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐδ' ἀφελεῖν, Arist. EN 1106<sup>b</sup>9 (the mean is best) ὅθεν εἰώθασιν ἐπιλέγειν τοῖς εὖ ἔχουσιν ἔργοις ὅτι οὗτ' ἀφελεῖν ἔστιν οὔτε προσθεῖναι, ὡς τῆς μὲν ὑπερβολῆς καὶ τῆς ἐλλείψεως φθειρούσης τὸ εὖ, τῆς δὲ μεσότητος σωζούσης.

ἀπ' οὖν ἔλθεις: cf. 8. 46 δόκεον . . . ἀπ' οὖν ἀλέσθαι. The adverbial use of οὖν or ὦν in *tnesi* is Dor. (Epich. 35. 6, 124. 3) and Ion. (Il. 19. 94, Hippon. 29. 2 and possibly 78. 16, Hdt., Hp.; Ar. Ra. 1047 is probably parody). In the older authors, where the context is known (which it is not in Hippon.), it is used only when the verb (mostly pres. or gnomic aor. indic.) denotes an habitual action; see Denniston 429. Hds. has apparently adopted an obsolete use and extended its scope.

115. K. pays a compliment principally to his customer, but also by implication to his products. Cf. the proverb ἅπαντα τοῖς καλοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν πρέπει (Trag. Adesp. 133).

καλὰ . . . καλῆσιν: like the elegiac poets and his fellow Hellenistic writers Hds. uses καλός (epic and iambic) or καλός (lyric and Att.) to suit the metre ( $\bar{\alpha}$  9 times,  $\acute{\alpha}$  6 or 7 times, indeterminate 4 or 5 times). The variation of the forms is a common stylistic device: cf. Thgn. 16-17 τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφονται, and Schneider on Call. *Jov.* 55 καλὰ μὲν ἤξευ, καλὰ δ' ἔτρεφε.

116. πέλμα: sole of the foot or shoe; Ion. and κοινή (see *LSJ*).

117-18. πόδ' ᾧ: Headlam's division, accepted by Knox, Cataudella, and Puccioni, is clearly more effective than πόδα. Cf. 4. 30.

ᾧ . . . ὑμέας: 'Ha! A scabby hoof is fastened: it was an ox that kicked you.' K. criticizes the shoes she is at present wearing, comparing them to the rough hoof of a neglected animal; this leads him to call her previous shoemaker an ox. So Blünnner, vulg. Rutherford, followed by Headlam and Knox, takes this as one sentence, reading ψωρῆι . . . ὀπλῆι, 'the ox which kicked you was fitted out with a scabby hoof', Headlam explaining 'the hoof must have been frayed and ragged to have made such a frayed and ragged sore': I find this obscure and less easy to fit into the context than the transmitted text. Meister reads ψωρῆι ἄρηρ' ἐν ὀπλῆι, 'im rauhen Huf steckt fest der Ochse, der euch gestossen hat, d.h. der Schuh sitzt ihr so fest wie dem stössigen Ochsen der rauhe Huf': this is even more obscure. But on any interpretation the connection between an ox and a shoemaker is not easy.

λακτίσας: Nairn thinks λακτίζειν may mean both 'kick' and 'sole a shoe', as πετρνίζειν does; but the cases are not comparable, the derivation from πτέρνη explaining both meanings, and Herodas' comparisons cannot be pressed too far.

119-21. Before these verses a pause must be assumed, in which K. removes the old shoes and tries on one of his pairs: then he says 'if one had sharpened one's knife against the sole, they would not have fitted more exactly': as in 114 sqq. his expert eye has picked out the correct size first time. It is however difficult to see the point of the conditional clause: the implication must be that sharpening one's knife on the leather sole is a method of obtaining a better-fitting shoe, but I cannot see the reason for this (it might make the leather thinner or smoother, but that is not relevant). The explanations of Bücheler (if one had cut out a sole to serve as a pattern in making the shoe), Meister (the body of the shoe fits as closely to the sole as does the knife when it is being sharpened), and Headlam (one could not even sharpen a knife on it without damaging the perfect fit) cannot be got out of the Greek. Corruption seems unlikely; perhaps a proverbial expression lies behind this.

σμίλην: a shoemaker's knife also in Pl. *Alc.* 1. 129 c.

ἑστίνην: frequent in oaths from Hom. on. The genuine Ion. form is ἰστίη.

σαφέως ἔκειτ' ἄν ὡς σαφ(έ)ως κεῖται: by his fullness of expression K. emphasizes the exactness of the correspondence.

122-3. K. addresses someone (hardly, as Crusius, the Eueteris of 99 sqq.) who is looking through the doorway and mocking his claims. This has been taken as a threatening statement, not a question, by Rutherford, Crusius, Nairn, and Cataudella; but K. cannot force anyone to pay anything.

μέζον ἵππου . . . κιχλίζουσα: a severe insult, as κιχλισμός, according to Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2. 5. 46. 3, is ἐκμελής τοῦ προσώπου ἔκλυσις and is γέλως πορνικός (cf. *AB* 271. 30), and to make this noise more loudly than a horse increases the impropriety.

124-9. The ladies prepare to depart. K. assures them of his ability to supply any other needs, and tells M. to come back later to collect some articles.

125. σαμβαλίσκων: this diminutive (neut., *pace LSJ*) also in Hippon. 32. 4 σαμβαλίσκα, the variant σανδ- in Ar. *Ra.* 405 τόδε τὸ (Bergk: τόνδε τὸν codd. *contra metrum*) σανδαλίσκων.

125-6. ἃ . . . εἴθισθε: house-slippers, which are loose-fitting (cf. 2. 23). Or possibly (Lloyd-Jones) a reference to their use of baubons in the privacy of home.

126. δουλ[ίδ]: used by Hyp. *Fr.* 235 and later writers quoted by Headlam.

<δεῖ>: this is the simplest correction of P's unmetrical line (haplography, πέμπετε a poor attempt at emendation). πέμπεσθε (Meister) offers no explanation for what P has; <δῆ> πέμπειν (Crusius) and <προσ>πέμπειν (Nairn) are intended as imperatival infinitives, but see 2. 54 n. The position of μοι (3. 73 n.) must not be tampered with.

128-9. καρκίνια: 60 n. The colour recalls the κόκκινος βαυβών, and an ambiguity seems necessary to explain the following sentence.

τήν . . . ράπτειν: 'for in truth a person sensible in mind must stitch the skin coat, since it gives a good heat'. Skin coats and heat have no possible relevance to shoes: but a baubon is made of leather and produces θάλπος ἔρωτος. K. indicates to M. that in coming to him for baubons she is showing good sense. The common interpretation, that K. in an aside says 'a wise man must keep in good repair the coat that warms him', i.e. 'I must reward M. for being a good customer', ignores the order of τήν β. θάλπουσαν; and this and Schmidt's variation, 'wenn er gut warmhält', do not provide a reasonable explanation of the previous sentence. Headlam and Knox adopt Jackson's θάλπους ἄνευ, with various other changes, but this could not mean 'out of the heat' or 'sans haste'.

γάρ οὖν: 'in post-Homeric Greek οὖν adds to γάρ the idea of

importance or essentiality' Denniston 446. K.'s final words are thus emphasized.

βαίτην: a rustic coat of skins. Its heating properties must have been well known, as the word is applied to a building which defeats the cold of winter (A. J. Gossage, *CR* n.s. ix [1959], 12 sq.).

ῥυδον: with φρονεῦντα, cf. E. *Or.* 1514 τᾶνδον οὐχ οὔτω φρονῶν. φρονεῦντα may stand alone as subject: cf. S. *El.* 697 ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν βλάβῃ, δύναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων ('not even a strong man') φυγεῖν, with Jebb's note, *GMT* § 827, Schwyzer ii. 408. However Hicks's τόν may be right: it makes the construction clearer, and restores a full caesura.

καί: I can see no sense in καί in this position (Nairn's explanation, 'I for my part must stitch', is based on the common explanation rejected above, and is doubtful in itself, as the relation of this sentence to the previous one is given by γὰρ οὖν). Before ῥυδον (or τόν) φρονεῦντα it might emphasize these words; one might therefore transpose it and δεῖ (Knox at one time replaced καί with δεῖ, reading ῥυδον <τόν>; later he transposed καί and ῥυδον).

## 8

SUBJECT. The speaker, who is the poet himself, wakens his household for the tasks of the day, and tells one of his slaves to listen to the narration of a dream he has had. The narration and interpretation of the dream take up the rest of the piece.

Mutilation of the text makes many details of the dream obscure: the certain facts are these. Hds. was dragging a goat through a defile; goatherds are involved; the goat is killed, flayed, and eaten (this is an inference from the interpretation); someone dressed in a fawnskin, tunic, ivy, and boots is involved; there is an ἀσκλησιασμός contest, which Hds. wins; an old man threatens him; he replies and calls on a young man, who perhaps settles the dispute. The description is clearly of some kind of Dionysiac festival: the goat, the dress, and the ἀσκλησιασμός point inevitably to that.

In the interpretation the goat is apparently said to be a gift from Dionysos, i.e. his poetry; the eating of the goat means that many critics will attack his poetry; the interpretation of the winning of the prize and of his sharing (?) with the angry old man is dubious—fame is mentioned and the phrases 'after Hipponax' and 'sing my crooked verses to Ionians' occur.

CHARACTERS. That the speaker is Hds. has been generally recognized.<sup>1</sup> He represents himself as the master of a small household in the country, with two female and (?) one male slave, and a pig, and possibly as an old man. The slaves are treated as are those in 1, 4, 6, and 7, and this suggests that the scene is purely a device to introduce the dream, and not any indication of Herodas' real circumstances.

PURPOSE. Hds. is clearly defending himself against critics and stating his belief that his work is worth while and will receive recognition. But the state of the text does not allow us to be more precise. That has not prevented some scholars from speculation,<sup>2</sup> which need not be discussed in detail; I mention only a few salient points. The young man in the dream is generally taken to be Dionysos, which is plausible; it is less likely that he is Ptolemy (Crusius). The old man is frequently said to be Hipponax, but no one has explained satisfactorily why Hippon., whose follower Hds. apparently claims to be, should threaten him. Herzog and Knox agree in thinking that Herodas' opponents in the dream are poets of whom we have knowledge (Theoc. and Philet. according to Herzog, who thinks αἰπόλοι = βουκόλοι; Call. according to Knox, who thinks the dispute was about how to write choliambics); but any evidence we have is against this, see Intr. II, § 35. Smotrytsch thinks the αἰπόλοι are members of the guild οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, whom Hds. despised because mime-writers were not admitted. It must be emphasized that even where there is nothing against any of these guesses, there is no necessity for them: it may be that Hds. did not intend to represent his opponents personally in the dream.

SOURCES. Dreams were believed in Greece (as elsewhere) to give an indication, requiring interpretation, of the future. For a dream interpreted by the dreamer cf., e.g., E. *IT* 42-66, according to the theory of E. *Fr.* 973 μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει λαλῶς and Men.

<sup>1</sup> Before the reconstruction of the major part of the poem Bücheler and others thought that the speaker was a woman because of a false supplement in 8. Later this was maintained by Vogliano, who toys with the idea of the poet's being a woman but finally decides that Hds. recites the dream dressed as a woman and takes off his mask to interpret it *propria persona*. The basis of all this is a series of false or unnecessary interpretations (in 8, 27, and 47).

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the editions see A. Vogliano, *Ricerche sopra l'ottavo mim. di Er.* (1906), *Excursus H. VIII* 76-9 (1907), *Riv. di fil.* n.s. iii (1925), 395 sqq., v (1927), 71 sqq.; J. Sitzler, *Woch. kl. Phil.* xxv (1908), 171 sqq., *Phil. Woch.* xlvii (1927), 35 sqq.; R. Herzog, *Philol.* lxxix (1924), 387 sqq., lxxxii (1927), 27 sqq.; A. D. Knox, *CR* xxxix (1925), 13 sqq., *Philol.* lxxxii (1926), 241 sqq.; V. Steffen, *Poznańsk. Towar. Przyj. Nauk. Prace Kom. Fil.* xi. 3 (1948), 63 sqq.; A. P. Smotrytsch, *Helikon* i (1961), 118 sqq.; S. Luria, *Misc. di Studi Aless. in mem. di A. Rostagni* (1963), 394 sqq.; I have not been able to see K. Fürst, *Festschr. Groh* (1925), 9 sqq.

*Theoph.* fr. 2 ὁ πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχων μάντις τ' ἄριστός ἐστι σύμβουλος θ' ἄμα. When a dream appears in a literary work, it is normally the vehicle through which the subject-matter is revealed to the author (e.g. Epimenid., Call., Ennius) or the means of limiting the author to a specific subject (e.g. Propertius). Hds. is unique, both in the complexity of his dream and in the use he makes of it. For the appearance of Hippon. cf. Call. *Fr.* 191.

SCENE. See above, on *Characters*. No further evidence (Knox thought Attica, but see on 36 sqq.).

DATE. No evidence for an absolute date, though relatively one would suppose it comes after at least some of Herodas' other work (Steffen on the other hand believes it comes before them, being an introductory manifesto; but this takes the patently *post euentum* prophecy of criticism too literally). The dramatic date is midwinter (this is denied by Herzog, but his reasons are unsound: 3 does not imply warm weather, for 5 see n.; 6 is decisive for the other view, which suits also the date of Dionysiac festivals—the date of the narration and that of the events of the dream do not necessarily correspond, but in a literary construction it is likely that they do).

RECONSTRUCTION. Only vv. 1-3 are in the continuous part of P and appeared in the *ed. pr.* The rest of the poem (together with 9) is made up from fragments of papyrus, which were published by Kenyon later (fr. 1-11 in *CR* v [1891], 480 sqq. and *Rev. de phil.* xv [1891], 162 sqq.; fr. 12-58 in *Arch. Pap.* i [1901], 379 sqq.) and by Nairn (fr. 59-60). Column 42 consists of initial letters of 12-21 from the continuous part of P and of fr. 1, 9 (joined by Diels), and 12 (placed by Kenyon); column 43 of fr. 3-4, 13-18 (placed by Kenyon), 36-7, 39-40, 43, 48-50, 52, 56-8 (placed by Knox and his helpers); column 44 of fr. 2, 19-20 (placed by Kenyon), 33-4, 38, 44, 46, 54-5 (placed by Knox and his helpers); column 45 of fr. 5, 8, 11, 21-30 (placed by Kenyon), 47 (placed by Milne) (+O, see on 67-75); column 46 of fr. 6-7 (placed by Bücheler), 31-2, 45, 51 (placed by Knox and his helpers), 60 (placed by Nairn). (Fr. 10 belongs in 7. 22 sqq., fr. 41-2 and possibly fr. 59 in 7. 105 sqq.; fr. 35 τ/ορ at the beginning of verses and fr. 53 ξυ/.. are unplaced.)

1-15. Hds. wakens his household and requests one of his slaves to listen to his dream. Cf. the opening of Ar. *Nu.* ἰὸν ἰού· ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον· ἀπέραντον. οὐδέποθ' ἡμέρα γενήσεται; καὶ μὴν πάλοι γ' ἀλεκτρύονος ἦκουσ' ἐγώ. οἱ δ' οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν.

1. ἄστηθι: i.e. ἀνάστηθι, with apocope of α (as in epic ἀνστήσω, ἀνστήσα; ἀνσταθι Theoc. 24. 35) and subsequent loss of ν before σ (so

ἀστάς at Epidaurous, *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 1. 121. 112, 122. 53, and Aeol. ὄστασαν, ὄσταθεις, Hsch. ο 1454, 1448); a phonetic development possible anywhere (and probably more common than traditional spelling shows), not a dialectal variation.

Ψύλλα: possibly an ethnic from the tribe Ψύλλοι in Libya (cf. 1. 1 n.), or it may be simply 'Flea' (cf. *Κωνώπιον* etc.).

μέχρι τέο κείσῃ: cf. Callin. 1. 1 μέχρις τεῦ κατάκεισθε;

2. ρέγχουσα: Ion. and κοινή form of ῥέγκω.

αὐονή: an exalted word for the context—elsewhere only of a drought sent by Zeus, Archil. 289, and αὐονὰ βροτοῖς one of the results of the ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων in A. *Eu.* 333.

δρύπτει: also high-sounding: thirst, like a great sorrow, is rending the pig.

3. προσμένεις: the pres. (so Palmer, Headlam, Knox, Cataudella, Puccioni) is more natural than προσμενεῖς (most edd.).

μέχρις εὔ: i.e. μέχρις οὗ (2. 43). That this should be read here and in 8 was seen by Palmer; εὔ is found in Hom. and is the normal Ion. contraction of εῖο (> Att. οῖ); there is no need to read οὗ, as Knox (followed by Herzog and Cataudella) does in 8—indeed εὔ should perhaps be read elsewhere where P has οὗ. The vulgate in both places is μέχρι σευ, possible but unlikely here, impossible in 8. εὔ 'well' (Rutherford) gives feeble sense.

θάλλῃ: corrected to θάλλῃ in P, perhaps (Meister) by someone who objected to the absence of ἄν with the subj. (but see 2. 43 n.). But in fact the fut., though adopted without comment by Bücheler, Knox, and Cataudella, would be extremely unusual, if not solecistic (such a construction is unknown to the grammars; according to A. Fuchs, *Die Temporalsätze mit den Konj. 'bis' und 'so lange als'* [Schanz's *Beiträge* 14, 1902], 127, it occurs in literature down to Arist. only in Hdt. 9. 58. 4 διωκτέοι εἰσι ἐς δ . . . δώσουσι [? leg. δῶσι] and X. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 39 περιμένετε, ἕως τὸν ὄχλον διωσόμεθα [CAEGH: -ώμεθα DF, accepted by modern edd. with Hertlein's ἕως <ἄν>], and I have not found it later).

4-5. Knox compares Call. *Fr.* 194. 81-2 φεῦ τῶν ἀτρύτων, οἷα κωτλιζουσι· λαιδρὴ κορώνη, κῶς τὸ χεῖλος οὐκ ἀλγείς; Herodas' verses sound like a reminiscence of this, with an added elaboration in the ironical use of ἀτρυτε.

κνώσσουσ': elsewhere (as in 10) 'sleep soundly', but here from the possible damage to the ribs one would expect 'snore', though the only evidence for this is Hsch. κ 3161 κνώσσειν· ὑπνοῦν, καθεύδειν, κοιμᾶσθαι. ῥέγχειν.

ἐννέωροι: 'nine years long', i.e. very long. The long winter night ought to provide enough time for Psylla to sleep. A unique use of the Homeric adj. (The sense cannot be 'nine hours long', because the Greeks, apart from scientists, divided night and day into twelve equal



hours each, which varied in length according to the season; and even if the scientific division of night plus day into 24 equal hours were being followed, a nine-hour night would make this summer, not winter. Herzog claims that nine hours is the length of time a working person should sleep, from sunset till three hours before sunrise, but he does not show that *νύξ* can mean anything but sunset to sunrise. 'The night is nine hours gone' is not to be got from the Greek.)

7. *ἄναυλον*: 'unmelodious', cf. S. *Fr.* 699 *μέλη βοῶν ἀναυλα* (Bergk: *ανανδα* Hsch.: *ἀναυδα* vulg.), which is parallel whether *βοῶν* is part. or genit. (see Pearson), though more so in the latter case. So Knox and Cataudella: previous edd. derived the word from *αὔλη*, not *αὔλος*, and took *ἀν-* as the prep. *ἀνά*, understanding *ἀνὰ τὴν αὔλην ὦν*, 'in the yard': but *ἀνά* is an unlikely prep. to express this sense. Headlam's *ἀναυδον* 'unspeakable' or *ἀναγνον* 'cursed' give good sense, but are superfluous.

8. *τ]όνθρουζε*: possibly the original form of *τονθορύζω* (7. 77), cf. *τονθρύς* etc.

*κνῶ*: 'scratch yourself'.

*μέχρις εὖ*: 3 n. For such threats Headlam compares Ar. *V.* 1441 *ὑβριζ' ἕως ἂν τὴν δίκην ἄρχων καλῇ* and (a remarkable parallel to the whole passage) Aristid. *Or.* 52. 2 *βουλόμενος τινα ἀναστῆσαι κάμνοντα . . . εἶπεν . . . τί μένεις; ποῖ βλέπεις; ἢ μέχρι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς παραστάς σοι φωνὴν ἀφίηι*;

*παραστά[ς σοι*: *παραστᾶ[σα* (Palmer) being ruled out (Intr.), only a postpositive may follow *παραστά[ς* (5. 69 n.), and *σοι* suits perfectly (δὲ [Vogliano] is not in place).

9. *σκήπωνι*: frequently an old man's stick (E. *Hec.* 65, Ar. *V.* 727, Call. *Fr.* 191. 69, *Epigr.* 1. 7), and this may be an indication of the narrator's age (real or dramatic).

*θῶμα[ι*: the middle expresses the general interest of the subject in the action (cf. 3. 54 n.).

10. *δει]λή*: cf. 13. *δού]λη* (*nescio quis*; cf. 1) is too long.

*Λάτμιον*: internal accus. 'A Latmian sleep' is a learned reference to Endymion, who in mythology slept everlastingly, and who frequented ([Theoc.] 20. 39, Nonn. *D.* 48. 667-8) or was buried on (Ar. *Fr.* 915, Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 92) Mt. Latmos in Karia.

11. 'It's not preparing wool that tires you.'

*ἔρια*: this is certainly the reading of P (Blass, *vulg.*), not *ἔργα* (Headlam, Knox, Cataudella, Puccioni), and is a better introduction to the following. Hds. may have written *εἴρια* (as in 13), but he is quite capable of the variation.

*τρύχουσιν*: pl. verb with neut. pl. subject occurs sporadically without special reason (cf. Schwyzler ii. 607-8). There is no need to think with Headlam that Hds. is striving for an epic effect.

12. ἐπ' ἱρά: probably a sacrifice to avert any evil consequences of his dream. For this custom and for the use of wool in religious ceremonies see Headlam-Knox.

13. ἔτι: 'any longer' is quite in place—their stock has been used up and Megallis has failed to provide more. Headlam's 'στί, adopted by Knox, Cataudella, and Puccioni, is unnecessary.

μαλλός: the fleece, made up of individual strands of wool, εἴρια.

14. Ἀνῶ: accented in P; probably a male name Ἀνῶς, but possibly female Ἀνῶ (Schmidt 47 Anm. 1).

15. Cf. Pi. P. 5. 109–10 κρέσσονα μὲν ἀλικίας νόον φέρβεται.

16–64. Narration of the dream.

16. τράγον . . . φάραγγος: a doubly bad start, cf. Artem. 2. 12 (p. 119. 20 Pack) αἶγες δὲ . . . πᾶσαι πονηραί, 2. 28 ὄρη δὲ καὶ νάπαι καὶ ἄγκη καὶ φάραγγες καὶ ὕλαι πᾶσι δυσθυμίας καὶ φόβους καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ ἀνεργασίας σημαίνουσι.

ωἰήθη[ν: Kenyon's original reading of P is probably correct; Blass<sup>ηθ</sup> read ωἰσμ.[., from which Meister and many edd. made ωἰσμην, but the form is unparalleled and the tense wrong (Schmidt 83–4).

17. εὐπώγων: of a goat also Leon. AP 9. 99. 1, 9. 744. 4, Nonn. D. 19. 61.

[ῆν τις (Crusius) and [ῆεν (Knox; epic verbal form also in ἔσσεται 2. 101, 4. 50, and ἔασι 4. 84) are possible supplements, but not compelling.

18. [.] . . : [ν]ῆ (Knox) or [μ]ῆ (Sitzler) is possible.

βήσσης: apparently the same place as the φάραγξ of 16.

19. Knox's ἡ[οῦ]ς φα[οῦσης is an ingenious explanation of P's reading; but if right, ἔω will be a gloss.

ἔσσωμαι: rightly so accented by Wackernagel (Kl. Schr. ii. 1049 Anm. 2) and LSJ as perf. of the Ion. ἐσσόομαι (ἐσσῶμαι edd., a mixture of Ion. ἐσσο- and Att. -άομαι).

24. Probably ἀμφὶ κάρτα with ἀμφί adverbial with οἱ, but possibly ἀμφικάρτα from ἀμφικείρω (Nairn, LSJ) or ἀμφὶ καρτάς[αν]τες (Edmonds).

28. Vogliano's σχ[ιστὸν] κροκωτ[όν is likely. Cf. Hsch. s.v. σχιστός· χιτῶν τίς ποιος γυναικεῖος, κατὰ τὸ στήθος πόρπη συνεχόμενος, Poll. 7. 54; Poll. 4. 116 ὁ δὲ κροκωτὸς ἱμάτιον· Διόνυσος δ' αὐτῷ ἐχρήτο, Ar. Ra. 46–7. This may be followed by ἡμ[φί]εστ(ο) (Knox).

29. λεπτής ἄντυγος: 'slight curve'. The only attested sense of ἄντυξ which seems possible in this context is 'curve of the body', and this is found only in Nonn. D. (of the thigh, 15. 227, ? 18. 280; of the female breast, 1. 348, 2. 110, 12. 393, 17. 218; of the male breast, 14. 165, 22. 328, 28. 99, 217; of the forehead, 26. 159, 39. 304;

passages quoted by Knox) and later writers. 'Curve of the hem or other part of a piece of clothing' is not attested (unless in Hsch. α 5547 ἀντυγωτός· ἀναδεδεμένος, ὅτι οἱ ἀντυγες καταδέονται), but seems possible.

30-1. νεβροῦ: 'of fawnskin', cf. Hdt. 7. 75. 1 πέδιλα νεβρῶν. The reference is clearly to the νεβρίς, the characteristic dress of Dionysos and Bakchai (Dodds on E. Ba. 111). στικτός is a common epithet of fawns, so that Knox's σ[τικτῆ]ς may well be right (νεβρός is epicene). Cf. 32 n.

κύπασσιν: a type of tunic. A rare word (cf. D. L. Page, *Sapph. and Alc.* 221-2), used in the diminutive form κυπασσίσκον by Hippon. 32. 3.

The syntax of these lines is obscure. καταζώννυμι might take a dat. χλανιδίωι (cf. Il. 10. 77-8 ζωστήρ . . . ὦι ῥ' ὁ γεραίὸς ζώννυθ') or an accus. κύπασσιν (cf. Il. 23. 130 χαλκὸν ζώννυσθαι), but hardly both together. The best solution is perhaps to suppose that another verb to govern κύπασσιν stood in the gap at the beginning of 31. Knox's κ[αθειμέν]ην there is intended to be taken with χλανιδίωι, 'bound by a stole'; but the meaning is not clear.

32. 'He had ivy [ ] circled round his head.' Knox's κό[ρυμβα δ'] is possible, 'ivy clusters', cf. Him. Or. 7. 3 (ποιηταὶ) ἄνθεσσι τε ἡρμιοῖσι καὶ κισσοῦ κορύμβαις . . . Διόνυσον στέφαντες.

ἔσπεπτο: P at first wrote ἔστικτο, possibly recalling 30 σ[τικτῆ]ς.

33. κο[θόρνου] (genit. sing. or [ς]: the typical footwear of Dionysos. κα[τ]αζώστηρι: ἄπ. λεγ., probably 'lace'.

36 sqq. These verses describe the amusement, which originally would have a serious significance, known generally (but improperly for earlier times, cf. K. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 700-7) as ἀσκολιασμός, in which the participants attempted to stand on a blown-up wineskin (ἀσκός) (cf. Poll. 9. 121 fin., Sch. Ar. Pl. 1129). This custom is generally connected with the Rural Dionysia at Athens, but is unlikely to have been confined to that festival (cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*<sup>2</sup> 45), and in fact the earliest sources imply that it was known elsewhere: Thphr. *apud* Porph. *Abst.* 2. 10 αἶγα δ' ἐν Ἰκάρωι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐχειρίσαντο πρῶτον, Eratosth. 22 Ἰκαριοῖ, τόθι πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο.

36. λῶπο[ς]: used by Hippon. 2. 1. Cf. Gow on Theoc. 14. 65 sq.

37. Clearly a reference to Od. 10, where Aiolos gives to Odysseus ἀσκὸν βοὸς ἐννεώροιο, ἐνθα δὲ βυκτάων ἀνέμων κατέδρασε κέλευθα (19-20), later (36) called δῶρα παρ' Αἰόλου; the blown-up ἀσκός is compared to Aiolos' bag.

40. Διωνύσου: the less usual form is corrupted to Διο- also in Thgn. 976 (cod. A) and Archil. 96. 1.

42. ἔκοπτον: 'struck' (not 'cut up', as Knox).

ἀρνευτήρες: identification (6. 14 n.), while the original passage, the Homeric formula (Il. 12. 385, 16. 742, Od. 12. 413) ὁ δ' ἄρ ἀρνευτήρι

ἐοικώς κάππεσε, has comparison. The word was variously taken in Hom. by ancient scholars as 'acrobat' or 'diver'; and this place also is uncertain, though 'diver' might be thought to give a more explicit contrast with ὕπτια in 43.

43. ὕπτι(α): Puccioni notes that ὕπτιος is normally used as a predicative adj. and therefore takes this as ὕπτι(οι); but the elision is more difficult than the adverbial use (for which cf. Headlam on 4. 61).

43-4. 'And everything, Annas, was a confusion of laughter and pain.' Knox's [ἡναμιχ]θέντα and Herzog's [κερασ]θέντα give the sense.

45. δόκεον: one might write ὀδόκεον (Schmidt 75: ὀδόκευν Meister), but omission of augment in this verb is certain in 73 (n.).

δῖς: the point of this is unclear, but δ' εἰς (Knox *olim*) involves an inexplicable καὶ . . . δ'.

λείης: it is also unclear what is meant by calling the others 'plunder, booty'. Knox translates 'wreck' or 'havoc', but the word does not mean this. Herzog takes it in the sense 'flock' (*LSJ* s.v. 4), applied to men like ἀγέλη; he thinks that Hsch. λ 516 λείη· ἡ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγέλη may derive ultimately from here; this may be correct (S. *Aj.* 26 may be another literary example of the meaning).

46. ἐπ' οὖν ἀλέσθαι: 7. 114 n.

47. The subject of the accus. and part. is doubtful: (1) it may be μ(ε), and then either (a) με is femin. (Vogliano) or (b) πιεξεῦσαν is corrupt (πιεξεῦντα Knox *olim*, Puccioni); (2) it may be δορῆν. (1) (a) is impossible (Intr.). With (2) the word order is peculiar and the sense strained—it is much easier to imagine a person pressing the skin than the skin pressing the feet of the person standing on it. πιεξεῦντα is probably right, but with the loss of the following lines certainty is impossible.

58. τὰ δεινὰ πνεῦσαι: it is unclear whether this refers to boasts or to threats, and whether the line is part of the speech ending at 60 or the introduction to it.

πατε[ ]: certainly from πατέω, but the form is uncertain.

59. ἐκ προσώπου: the opposite of εἰς πρόσωπον (E. *Hipp.* 720 etc.).

60. οὔλη: P has ολη, as elsewhere, but the Ion. form preserved by Sch. Nic. must be correct. For the weakened sense cf. A.R. 4. 1166 οὔποτε . . . τερωπλῆς ἐπέβημεν ὄλωι ποδί.

κατ' ἰθὺ: 'straight down', Ion. for κατ' εὐθύ.<sup>1</sup>

βατηρίη: this and βατήρ in Nic. *Ther.* 377 are probably not genuine by-forms of βακτηρία, but learned speculations based on the scansion in Hippon. 20 δοκέων ἐκέινον τῇ βακτηρίῃ κόψαι (see Masson), which is clearly the origin of this verse. The same speculation is probably behind Hsch. β 325 βατηρίαν· ῥάβδον καὶ βακτηρίαν (where the Att.

<sup>1</sup> Colonna (see p. 1 n. 1) quotes κατιθύ and καλύψω from Sch. Nic. without comment.

ending and the accus. might suggest that another passage is the source, but such alterations are common in the lexicographers).

62. **θανεῖμ' ὑπὲρ γῆς**: the temptation to translate 'I will die for my country' is strong, but must be resisted: as Edmonds says, unless *ἐκῶν uel sim.* is lost, it must mean 'I shall die'. *ὑπὲρ* may also be literally 'above' (so Terzaghi, Puccioni). In either case the meaning is obscure.

**εἰ**: P's reading is not clear, but though *ψ* best suits the traces *εἰ* must be right (*ψογερώων* is metrically impossible).

64. **δορέα**: this has been generally taken as a *nomen agentis*, 'flayer', therefore the subject of a lost infin. with *ἄμφω* the object (*ξ[ύλωι δῆσαι* Herzog). Pisani however thinks it means 'skin', a secondary formation from *δορά*, therefore object with *ἄμφω* subject (he supplies *ξ[υνῆι κτῆσθαι*).

65-79. The interpretation.

65. **ἔληξα**: 'I stopped (dreaming).' *λήγω* without complement is generally used of ceasing to speak (see *LSJ*), but in the context here it is, *pace* Vogliano, quite natural; cf. 3. 87. Puccioni takes it from *λάσκω* (3. 11 n.), but we apparently require 'I awoke', not 'I spoke'.

**τὸ ἐνδυ[τον]**: Hds. is cold and shivering from the effect of the dream. Cf. Call. *Fr.* 742 with Pfeiffer's note.

66. **τῶναρ**: if correct must = *τὰ ὄναρ*, 'the matters concerning the dream' (Crusius), but possibly a mere error.

E.g. *(ε)ἰ[κάζειν δεῖ]* (Crusius). In Knox's *ἰ[δῶν κρίνω]* the repetition of *ἰδῶν* is displeasing.

67-75. The ends of these verses are preserved in O (*POxy.* 2326). Cf. Intr. III, §§ 3 sqq.

67. E.g. *ὥς μὲν τό[ν]* (Edmonds).

68. E.g. *ἔξω τι κ]αλοῦ* (Knox).

69. E.g. *ὥς δ' οἱ αἰ]πόλοι* (Knox).

**ἐδ]αιτρεῦντο**: Milne's supplement is partially confirmed by O. The verb is not otherwise known, but is a natural derivative of *δαιτρός*, beside *δαιτρεύω* (cf. Schwyzler i. 732 γ).

70. **ἔνθεα**: 'rites of communion with the god'. 'Frenzied' is an incorrect translation of *ἐνθεος*.

**τελεῦντες**: Knox suggests, possibly correctly, that a pun with 72 *τελεῦσις* is intended.

At the end of the verse P clearly had *κρεῶ[ν ἐδαλ]νυντο*; although *LSJ* quote the genit. with *δαίνυσθαι* only from Ant. Lib., it is a perfectly possible partitive construction, and excited no comment, far less doubt, till O appeared with *ἰαμεδαινυντο*. Barigazzi suggests that it had *κρέα* *ἄμ' ἐδαίνυντο*: this scansion is perhaps possible, though the only instances known to me are contested: Antiph. 20. 1 *κρέα* (*κρέας* Meineke) *δέ τινος ἥδιστ' ἂν ἐσθίοις*; Timocr. 1 (727). 11 *ψυχρὰ κρέα*

παρέχων (ψυχρά <τὰ> κρεῖα παρίσχω Page). I have toyed with the idea of inventing κρέαμα, but there seems no exact parallel to such a formation. Lloyd-Jones suggests κρέ' αἶμ' (= αἶμα): this form is not used by Hds., but it could easily have been; however, I doubt that such a definition of κρεῖα is required. On the whole it is best to suppose that O was corrupt here (perhaps an intrusive αἶμα intended to show the construction).

71. μέλεα: Herzog notes the ambiguity—'limbs (of the poet)' and 'songs'. It is presumably for the sake of this that Hds. uses a word strictly applicable only to sung, lyric, poetry.

μόχθους: of a work of literature also in Mel. *AP* 12. 257. 3.

72. τιλεῦσιν: metaphorical, as in Anacr. 4 (349) οὗτος δηῖτ' Ἰηλυσίους τίλλει τοὺς κυανάσπιδας.

ἐν Μούσησιον: generally taken with πολλοί, 'many of those who are interested in poetry, critics' (cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 452), and Knox says confidently 'There is an ellipse <τῶν> ἐν μούσησιν <όντων>': but such an ellipse is difficult, especially when the words are separated. Yet to take ἐν *M.* with τιλεῦσιν (Vogliano, Edmonds) gives no satisfactory sense. Perhaps they belong with the end of the verse.

ὠδεγω[ ]το: this has always been taken to mean 'so I interpret' (cf. E. *IT* 55 τοῦναρ δ' ὠδε συμβάλλω τόδε), but O proves the various suggestions wrong (assuming that it is not again corrupt). Barigazzi's ὠδ' ἐγὼ [τοῦ]το is hardly Greek; on these lines I can suggest only ὠδέ γ' ὠ[ισ]το, 'so at least it presaged', with ὠιστο (but cf. 18 n.) intransitive as in Od. 19. 312 ἀλλά μοι ὠδ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὠίετο. But the truth is probably yet to be found, and may lie in another direction, such as ὠδέ γ' ὠ[λλυ]το or ὠ[πτα]το (sc. τὰ μέλεα).

73. μῆν: adversative, 'denoting that a fact coexists with another fact opposed to it' (Denniston 334).

δόκειν: imperf. without augment, as in 45. Hds. probably (Knox) took this licence, as he must have regarded it, from the messenger-speeches of tragedy (cf. Page on E. *Med.* 1141; in E. only certainly in *Ba.*). δοκοῦν (Vogliano, Crusius) is ruled out by μόνος.

74. ἄπνουν: ἄπνοος should, and elsewhere does, mean 'without wind or breath', of weather, places, and persons (see *LSJ*). But here the opposite is the case: the skin is full of air. Nairn says 'it is called ἄπνοος because of the breathless condition of those who took part', which would be a most strange transference. Knox translates 'air-tight', explaining 'so that the air could not escape', which is an *ad hoc* perversion. Vogliano took it in the natural sense of 'empty of air' and denied that ἀσκωλιασμός was referred to at all, which contradicts the earlier part of the poem and leaves unexplained why the κάρυκος should be so described. Perhaps read ἔμπνουν or εὐπνουν.

75. κῆ = καὶ εἰ, continuing ὥς, cf. *LSJ* s.v. εἰ B VI.

ξύν' ἔπραξα: ἔπραξα either trans. 'I did common things, I shared' (Crusius, Knox), or intrans. 'I fared like' (Nairn, Herzog; cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 1443, and S. Ant. 546 μή μοι θάνῃς σὺ κοινά). Probably not 'I joined forces with' (Headlam), which does not apparently correspond with 64.

ὀρινθέντι: ὀρίνω is frequently used of fear, rarely of anger: but cf. Od. 17. 216 (Melantheus makes an insolent speech) ὄρινε δὲ κῆρ Ὀδυσῆος, B. 13. 110-12 ὁππότε Πη[λείδας] τρα[χ]εῖαν [Ἀτρεΐδαισι μ]ᾶνιν ὠρίνατο, Epicr. 11. 35-6 ὁ Πλάτων δὲ παρῶν καὶ μάλα πρᾶιως, οὐδὲν ὀρινθείς . . . O also probably read this, though the meaning of the

superscript η is dubious (Barigazzi's ἔ]ριν θέντι is highly speculative).

76-9. The construction and exact sense of these verses is unfortunately quite uncertain. The main verb (if there was only one) may have been at the beginning of 76 (ἔξω) Vogliano) or at the end (κ[λήσει Knox); η . . . η may be relat. (Spirou, Crusius, Nairn, Headlam) or disjunct. (vulg.); δευτερη γν[ may be nomin. or dat.; the construction of the infin. αείδειν is unknown. Supplements can be found to fit most preconceptions.

76. ἔπεα: apparently of iambic poetry, as in com. prol. 8 (O. Schroeder, *Nov. com. fr.* p. 65, D. L. Page, *Gr. Lit. Pap.* p. 324; not later than 200 B.C.) τῶν ἐπῶν γὰρ ὦμ μέλλ[ο]μ[ε]ν [ἐρεῖν], ἔκαστον . . . (probably not in Ar., see W. B. Starnford, *Hermath.* lxxxix [1957], 71-2).

77. μ]έγ' Knox, plausibly.

ἕξ: apparently denoting the origin of his fame. ἕξ, the numeral (Crusius *olim*), could not refer to the 'sechs-füssiger (Chol)iambus' (Gerhard), as the choliamb consists of three metra, not of six feet; but 'six pure iambs' in contrast to τὰ κύλλα of 79 (so Herzog) is not impossible.

γν[ώμη(ι) (Headlam) is generally accepted (= δεύτερος πλοῦς in sense), though Herzog prefers γν[ώσι.

78. ]μοῖς is the likeliest reading: ἐ]μοῖς Herzog *olim* and later edd., taken with Ξουθιδης, though why Hds. should claim possession of them or contrast his group of them with another is by no means clear (possessive adj. without article in 4. 2, probably 7. 108).

79. τ]ὰ κύλλα(α) = τὰ χολά in Call. *Fr.* 203. 14.

Ξουθιδης: Hsch. ξ 89 Ξουθιδαι· οἱ Ἴωνες. Ἴων γὰρ Ξούθου (cf. Hdt. 8. 44. 2). The learned term is used also by Lyc. 987.

ἐπίουσι[ P: this has frequently been defended, either as ἐπίουσιν or as ἐπειουσιν, part. of a supposed ἐπ(ε)ῖω = ἔπειμι (ἴβο). But apart from the sing. of the indic., ῖ or εἰ in this verb is limited to the subj.: εἴω Sophr. 48; cf. *LSJ* Suppl. s.v. εἴμι; ἴομεν in Il. 2. 440 may be related or may be a metrical lengthening (ἰμέναι in Il. 20. 365 is

dubious, see Leaf). It cannot be absolutely denied that Hds. made an unparalleled extension (Schmidt 127 sqq. thinks he misinterpreted Sophr.), but it seems unlikely. Conjecture has attempted to find a main verb: *ἐπίησιν* Crusius *olim*, Cataudella (but P—and probably Hds.—does not present psilosis in compounds); *ἐπιθύσει* Knox (but there is no instance of *ἐπιθύω* with accus. and infin. meaning ‘goad one to . . .’—it takes the infin. and means ‘strive to . . .’).

## 9

The title and pitiful remains show that this was a domestic scene, in which several women visited another for breakfast; children are mentioned (Headlam thinks the subject was a debate for and against having children). The title (the only instance of the verb in classical Greek) recalls Sophr. 15–18 (from a mime which ‘inscriptum fuisse *Ταὶ συναριστῶσαι* apte coniecit Wilamowitzius’ [Kaibel]) and Menander’s *Συναριστῶσαι*.

2. . [ . ]ος: the first letter is certainly *π* and not *η*. If Crusius’s supplement is correct—and it is hard to avoid—we must scan *Εὐέτειραν*, cf. 3. 71 n. This is better than having a spondee in the fourth foot. For the name cf. 7. 100 *Εὐετηρίς*.

3 sqq. There appears to be abuse of a slave.

νο[

10. φρ[ P: probably a case of *φρένες* corrected to one of *νόος*.

12. ἐξοι[ probably the fut. of *ἐκφέρω* (Crusius).

13. γληχ[ from *γλήχων*, the Ion. form of *βλήχων* (Bücheler). Edd. note that this plant was the first food eaten by Demeter after her fast (*h. Cer.* 209 etc.) and think it may have a religious significance here. But Edmonds notes that it was a laxative (*Hp. Morb.* 3. 17 fin.), which would be suitable in a context dealing with children. It occurs in Hippon. 84. 4 (context unknown).

ἥειρα: possibly ‘I reared’, though this sense is not certainly attested (cf. Fraenkel and Denniston–Page on *A. Ag.* 1525), and appearances may be deceptive.

## 10

Death or suicide to avoid the misery of old age is not infrequently wished for or advocated in Greek literature; cf. *Mimn.* 6 αἱ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδωνέων ἐξηκονταετή μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου,



Str. 10. 5. 6 παρὰ τούτοις (Κείους) δὲ δοκεῖ τεθῆναι ποτε νόμος, οὐ μέμνηται καὶ Μένανδρος (Fr. 797). “καλὸν τὸ Κείων νόμιμόν ἐστι, Φανία· ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς οὐ ζῆν κακῶς”. προσέτατε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ νόμος τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας κωνειάζεσθαι τοῦ διαρκεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν τροφήν, and other passages quoted by Headlam. I should suppose this to have been an aside rather than the subject of the poem. Μολπίνος (from μολπ- as Κρατῖνος from κρατ-) will have been the principal character.

1. ἥλιον: the sense ‘year’ is apparently unique, and hardly credible; also the object one would expect for κάμψης is βίον (cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 87). Perhaps there is a lacuna, e.g. ἐξηκοστὸν ἢ λχίην πολλόν / ἡκίης ἔτος χρηστόν τε σὸν βίον κάμψης.

3. οὐπέκεινα τοῦ βίου καμπτήρ: ‘the further lap of life’. ἐπέκεινα in classical Greek is used mainly of place (of *future* time first in the LXX), from which the metaphor is easy here. Porson’s correction (on E. *Hec.* 1090 = 1108) suits the idea of two halves of a race-track better than ὁ ὑπὲρ κείνο, defended by Crusius and Puccioni, comparing ὑπερέκεινα.

4. This line probably comes from the same context, but its close conjunction with 1-3 is not absolutely certain.

αὐγή: cf. A. *Ag.* 1123 βίου δυντὸς αὐγαῖς with Fraenkel’s note.

## 11

This appears to be erotic (though there is no need to see with Headlam a reference to prostitution in the title), cf. Ar. *Pl.* 1095-6 ὡς εὐτόνως, ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ γράδιον ὥσπερ λέπας τῷ μειρακίῳ προσείχετο, Luc. *Alex.* 55 προσφύς ὡς φιλήσων. Clearly a man or a woman may be the subject.

## 12

Description of a child’s game, in view of 3 one would suppose a pejorative description.

1. χαλκήν . . . μυῖαν: Hsch. μ 1813 μυῖα χαλκῇ λέγεται παιδιά τις, ἣν οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες καταμύουσιν, ἀποτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας ἄχρι ἄν τινος ἐπιλάβωνται; ‘blind man’s buff’. Cf. *Carm. Pop.* 30 (876) (a).

κύθρην: Hsch. s.v. χυτρίνδα· παιδιᾶς εἶδος τοιαύτης· καθεύεται τις ἐν μέσῳ· εἶτα κύκλῳ περιτρέχοντες οἱ παῖδες περὶ τὸν καθεζόμενον ποιοῦσιν αὐτὸν περιστρέφειν, ἕως ᾗψηταί τινος τύπτοντος αὐτόν· εἶτα καθεύεται ὁ ληφθεὶς.

παίξει: the construction with the accus. is exemplified by *LSJ* s.v. I 3 and Headlam on 3. 6.

2-3. The tying of these insects with thread and releasing them so that the thread comes off as they fly is mentioned by Ar. *Nu.* 763 (cf. *V.* 1341) and Poll. 9. 124.

μηλάνθισιν: *μηλολόνη* is the original form (from *μῆλον ὀλόνηιον*, see Frisk s.v.), but Poll. has *μηλολόνη*, and Eust. 1329. 25 says *μηλόνη* is Att. For the dissimilatory loss of *λο* cf. Schwyzler i. 262-3.

κεσκίου: Hsch. κ 2378 *κεσκίον· στυπεῖον, τὸ ἀποκτένισμα τοῦ λίνου.*

μοι: probably with τοῦ *κεσκίου*, 'bands made of my tow' (if with τὸν *γέροντα* the position is difficult).

γέροντα: Poll. 7. 73 τὸ δὲ ἐργαλεῖον καθ' οὗ ἐκλωθον ἐξαρτῶντες τὰ στυπεῖα γέρων ἐκαλεῖτο. ἦν δὲ ξύλου πεποιημένον κρόνιον, χεῖρας Ἑρμοῦ τετραγώνου ἔχον, ὡς γέροντος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦνομα.

λαβᾶται: 'pillages'. For the form see App. II, 15 (4).

## 13

A commonplace of popular philosophy, 'no man is completely without trouble'. Of the many parallels quoted the closest in diction are Men. *Fr.* 623 *ἀνευ κακῶν γὰρ οἰκίαν οἰκουμένην οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν* and S. *Fr.* 410 *ἄμοχθος γὰρ οὐδεὶς· ὁ δ' ἥκιστ' ἔχων μακάρτατος.*

2. ζώουσιν: Meineke conjectured *οἰκέουσιν*, Bergk *βεβῶσαν*, but these cheapen the expression, which is a natural personification; and the following *ὅς* shows that the idea of a person is uppermost in Herodas' mind.

3. τοῦτον: resuming *ὅς*, a common idiom in such *γνώμαι*. *τούτου* (codd.) could go only with τοῦ *ἐτέρου* with which it is superfluous or worse.

# APPENDIX I

## VARIATIONS FROM P NOT NOTED IN THE APPARATUS

(1) P writes ι for ει in the following places:<sup>1</sup>

1. 1	αρασσι	2. 71	ιλκεν	3. 53	αμινον
	οψι	78	ι		ικαδας
2	δειμαινις		ιγι	54	κιριται
4	προσελθιν	80	εκιν	59	μιον
	παριμι		εξις	61	αριτ
5	ι	81	ι	62	διξοντες
6	αγγ[[ε]]ιλον	82	χιρα	65	προυνικοισι
7	καλι	92	δοκιτε	67	ι
8	ελθιν	94	ξινouis	74	ις
12	ιδε	95	διξεθ	75	ουδισ
18	αγχιν	101	πληγισ	77	μελλις
26	κι		αμινων	78	ιρωτα
33	ενεγκιν	3. 3	διρον	79	ι
40	τρις	4	χιλεων	90	δι
58	λιπει		λιφθι		λαβιν
2. 3	ι	8	κιται	91	ικοσιν
4	εχι	10	αιτι	92	αμινον
10	ελκι	11	ληξιε	4. 1	μεδισ
12	αγχι	12	προυνικοι	4	χ[[ε]]ιρι
20	κινην(?)	13	διξαι		ψαις
21	πλι	15	κιται	5	υγια
22	εχι	26	ιπα	7	τιχη
24	αξι	27	βοσκιν	9	ποδαλιριος
29	ιδοτ	28	παιδιην	15	επι
33	ξινον	29	εξιν	18	τινας
34	ουδισ	31	[[ε]]ιπιν	20	υγιης
41	αικιης	33	ηθι	23	κινα
48	τελιτω	35	ερι	25	ιη
54	τινιν	39	κιρι	28	ερισ
56	διοικιται	40	τινας	29	ψυξι
57	οικις	42	πασχιν	32	ι
70	λια	45	χιμων	33	ερισ

<sup>1</sup> Including cases of ει corrected to ι. Conversely P has ει for ι in 1. 82 πειθι, 87 ηδειον, 7. 102 δαρεικους.

4. 33 λαλησι  
34 θιναι  
37 ιδε  
38 ικονισμα  
δισθω  
39 διξω  
40 ζωις  
47 αινη  
κισαι  
49 καις  
50 κ[[ε]]ινηι  
54 ωθιται  
55 μινον  
57 ερις  
60 εξι  
κινται  
69 πρησιν  
72 χι(corr. ex  
ε)ρες  
73 ερις  
κινος  
74 ιδεν  
75 ψανιν  
76 ηπιγεθ  
εκινον  
82 ιης  
83 ι  
85 ιη  
86 ιη  
93 φεριν  
5. 2 αρκι  
κινιν  
3 εγκισαι  
5 ελκις  
6 ιμι  
βουλι  
9 καλι  
13 παραδιγμα  
ιναι  
16 ι  
17 δοκις  
ευρησις  
18 ις  
20 δι
5. 20 ι  
21 τρις  
γνωισκιν  
22 κινηι  
23 κλαυσι  
29 ιμι  
30 αλινδι  
36 ιτ  
37 ειας  
40 αγις  
43 φαμαρτι  
44 δωσις  
48 ερις  
49 εμβαλιν  
50 παραστιξης  
51 τισις  
53 ιθιαν  
54 καλικαλι  
56 καλι(ι ? ex  
corr.)  
δοξι  
57 σπατατιν  
58 ελκις  
61 κινας  
64 εξαγις  
65 ελθιν  
66 δι  
73 λυπιτε  
78 ιδησι  
80 ικας  
85 αξις  
6. 9 προστατιν  
ποις  
11 χ[[ε]]ιρ<sup>ε</sup>ων  
16 φθιρεσθε  
20 κινον  
22 διαβαλις  
24 ουδ[[ε]]ις  
27 εκτριψι  
30 δωριται  
31 δι  
33 αθριτω  
35 αδρηστια  
39 φεριν
6. 40 ιμι  
41 εκτεμιν  
διται  
43 [[ε]]ι  
φιλις  
ιπον  
47 ιπε  
48 ι(fort. ex  
corr.)σι  
ις  
50 γιτων  
59 ηκι  
ερις  
ιναι  
60 ικασαις  
75 πιθουν  
79 ι  
εδι οτ εδι<sup>ε</sup>  
80 ιναι  
87 αρτεμις  
89 αρτεμις  
91 ιχες  
93 [[ε]]ιπ[[ε]]ιν  
95 αρτεμιν  
ιναι  
96 ιδ[.]σω  
98 κλισοϋ  
100 ι  
7. 2 εχις  
δι[.]αι  
6 καθευδις  
10 κινι  
11 τριβιν  
24 χ[ιρε]ς  
29 τρις  
52 πισθητε  
55 απελθιν  
64 κιν  
ηιρας  
67 θελις  
71 ερις  
74 κερδιη  
πιθοι

7. 76 αμινον	7. 116 ερις	8. 13 ιριων
80 πρηξι	117 τεμιν	διλη
85 βλεπιν	121 κιται	14 θελις
86 ικοστηι	122 δωσις	15 βοσκις
91 ποι	δαρικους	16 ελκιν
92 οισι	125 ελκιν	18 επι
92 θελις	129 ραπτιν	38 λακτιζιν
95 ις	8. 1 κισηι	45 λιης
96 πρηξις	2 δρυπτι	47 ιδ[
97 δωσις	3 προσμενις	62 ι
101 λαβιν		64 ιπεν
106 δαρικων	θαλψ <sup>ι</sup> η	67 εξιλκον
110 εχις	4 καμνις	73 ? εχ[ι]ν
111 εκινος	6 θελις	79 αιδιν
112 χιλεα	10 δι]λη	
115 αρμοζι	κνωσσις	

(2) P (or at least the first hand) omits the ι of long diphthongs in:

1. 19 νεωτερ <sup>ι</sup> ς	2. 88 αιτή	6. 97 λαιμα
20 θερμηνη	3. 79 ζωνν	7. 5 δριμυλω
31 χρηζη	80 σθενη[[ι]]	61 ερα
39 αλλη	4. 35 ορης	88 αξουσι
56 καθοδω	93 λαθη	112 οτεω
2. 49 χρηζων	5. 79 μετωπω	114 ελη[ς]?
59 πλωση	83 εμησι	115 τής
83 χρηζεις	6. 21 τριτημερη	8. 13 τή
	47 ενευχη	

(3) P has an aspirate for a tenuis in:

1. 18 χητερους	2. 71 οθ	3. 41 καθηθ
31 πανθ	75 χω	51 καθ
34 κοθ	76 χω	55 νοεννθ
39 κ <sup>ι</sup> η	95 διξεθ	4. 3 κ(corr. ex
40 χιλαρη	96 χω	χ)ωπολλων
58 εφ	χ	7 χοι
2. 19 ουθ	ειχε[[ν]]ηρα-	10 χωσοι
25 οιχεθ	κλης	23 ουχ
26 καφ	97 χωσκληπιος	35 ουχ
44 χω	3. 24 τριθημεραι	40 ουχ
	34 χη	42 χωδε

4. 52 πανθ	5. 10 εθ	7. 22 ορηθ
56 κᾱνεῖθ	17 εθ	31 πανθ
ουχ	30 μεθ	40 χημερην
60 ουχ	60 εποιηθ	51 χατε[ρ]ον
66 χο	6. 32 χητερην	72 εφ
θ	ανθ	8. 12 ουχ
67 χω (pr.)	43 εσθ	41 χοι
76 ηπιγεθ	72 ουχ	78 μεθ
86 χυγμυι	97 χωρη	
95 μεθ?	7. 21 χυμε[ι]ς	

(4) The following minor corrections occur in P:

1. 25 εκκλη <sup>σ</sup> γται	3. 19 δαι <sup>ε</sup> παρωτεραι	5. 11 του[[του]]
31 αγα <sup>θ</sup> α	80 φ <sup>ειν</sup> ερ	18 δυσον
47 εστηκε[[ς]]	βυρσα[[ι]]	56 συν
54 καρ <sup>π</sup> φος	82 πρη <sup>σ</sup> ων	63 αυθ <sup>τ</sup> ις
61 μητριχη[[ι]]	83 δο <sup>σ</sup> ι	6. 52 οικ <sup>ξ</sup> ων
64 δια <sup>ο</sup>	θ	7. 57 σικυν <sup>ω</sup> ια
2. 4 εχ (corr. ex	91 μηθεν	91 ου <sup>κ</sup> χ
ι)ι	λ	104 δει <sup>ν</sup> νοις
8 πολ <sup>εο</sup> εως	4. 11 ιδεω	8. 13 ε <sup>ν</sup>
38 εων[[α]]	33 χ	44 ει <sup>σ</sup> εν
49 βαττα <sup>ρο</sup> [[ω]]ς	76 εκκεινου	61 κηγω (η corr.
96 ειχε[[ν]]ηρα- κλης	79 εντελεως[[ι]]	ex ω)
3. 18 ξυλ <sup>σ</sup> ηι	80 μεζον <sup>ς</sup> ω	
	83 ε[[μ]]π <sup>ι</sup> ροις	

## APPENDIX II

### DIALECT AND PROSODY

The purpose of this section is to summarize certain general features of Herodas' dialect, especially those of importance in establishing the text and those where comparison can be made with Hippon. and Call.; more particular points are discussed in the commentary (see Index II). The only thorough and competent examination of the language of Hds. remains that of R. Meister in his edition (1892), though inevitably it is now out of date both with regard to the text and linguistically. S. Olschewsky, *La Langue et la métrique d'H.* (1897) and J. A. Nairn in his edition (1904) derive totally from Meister. The work of D. Bo, *La lingua di Er.* (1962) lacks judgement and linguistic knowledge, but has some use as a compilation of facts, though everything must be checked. Schmidt provides a detailed and competent treatment of selected topics. Detailed aspects are dealt with by E. Merone, *I diminutivi in Er.* (1953); L. Valmaggì, 'De casuum syntaxi apud H.', *Riv. di fil.* xxvi (1898), 37-54; P. Priewasser, *Die Präpositionen bei Kall. und H.* (1904). For the Ion. dialect in general see F. Bechtel, *Die griech. Dialekte*, iii (1924); A. Thumb, *Hbd. d. griech. Dialekte*, ii. 2. Aufl. von A. Scherer (1959), 194 sqq. 'Call.' in the following refers only to the choliambic *Iambi*, *Fr.* 191-5 and 203. The fragmentary state of the material, especially for Hippon., must always be kept in mind.

1. Hds. has the most important sign of Ion.,  $\eta$  for original  $\bar{a}$  in all positions, almost everywhere (a few cases of  $\bar{a}$  in P are universally corrected; for some cases where Hds. has  $\eta$  for genuine Ion.  $\bar{a}$  see Index II s.v. Ionicisms, false).

2. Diphthongs. The second element is omitted in  $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Κλεοῦς}$ ,  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\alpha\upsilon\eta\eta$  (once:  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\eta\eta$  once, also Hippon.),  $\text{ποιεῖν}$  (once:  $\text{ποιεῖν}$  frequently, only this in Hippon., Call.). P sometimes omits the *iota mutum* (see Appendix I, (2)), but not in any logical way; Hds. will have written it always. Shortening of the first element occurs in  $\Theta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$  (once:  $\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}\eta$  once),  $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  (twice:  $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  3 times); see also Index II s.v. quantity.

3. *Metathesis quantitatis*. Original  $-\upsilon$  is retained in  $\text{Παῖηον}$ ,  $\text{Παῖηονα}$ . Metathesis occurs in  $\text{ἴλεως}$ ,  $\text{Λεωμέδων}$ ,  $\text{νεωκόρος}$ ,  $\text{τέλεως}$  (?), the genit. pl. of  $\alpha$ -stem nouns, the genit. sing. of  $\epsilon\upsilon$ -stem nouns.

## 4. Contraction.

(1)  $a + e$ -vowel =  $\bar{a}$  (for apparent exceptions see below, 15 (4)),  
 $a + o$ -vowel =  $\omega$ . In  $-á\omega$  verbs, no uncontracted forms.

(2)  $\epsilon + a = (a)$   $\bar{e}\bar{a}$  in two cases,  $(b)$   $\bar{e}\bar{a}$  in 22 cases,  $(c)$   $\eta$  in  $\eta\bar{\nu}$  (30 times) and  $\epsilon\pi\eta\bar{\nu}$  (5 times:  $\epsilon\pi\bar{e}\bar{a}\bar{\nu}$  3 times). P also has  $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\eta$  in 4. 7 and  $\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  in 7. 118, but these should be corrected.

$\epsilon + o$  ( $ou$ ) =  $(a)$   $\bar{e}\bar{o}$  ( $\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{u}$ ) in  $\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha$ , possible but unlikely in  $\epsilon\lambda\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu$ ;  $(b)$   $\bar{e}\bar{o}$  ( $\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{u}$ ) in 7 cases;  $(c)$   $\epsilon\upsilon$  in the majority of cases (so Hippon. and Call. except in the genit. sing. of  $\epsilon\upsilon$ -stem nouns). P has  $ou$  (Att.) in 8 cases, which should be corrected (7. 105  $\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$  being corrupt, I have provisionally left  $ou$ ; similarly in Hippon. 67).

$\epsilon + \omega = (a)$   $\bar{e}\bar{\omega}$  in 6 cases;  $(b)$   $\bar{e}\bar{\omega}$  in the majority of cases (so Hippon. always and Call. except in 3 cases). P has  $\omega$  (Att.) in 4 cases, which should be corrected.

$\epsilon + \omicron\iota = \omicron\iota$  in  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$  ( $\bar{e}\bar{o}\iota$  in Hippon.).

$\epsilon = \epsilon$  ( $\epsilon\iota$ ) =  $\epsilon\iota$ . In  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  verbs, no uncontracted forms (so Call.,  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  Hippon.).

$\epsilon + \eta$  ( $\eta\iota$ ) =  $(a)$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}$  ( $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\iota$ ) in  $\delta\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$ ,  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi\acute{\epsilon}\eta\iota$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta\iota$ ;  $(b)$   $\eta$  ( $\eta\iota$ ) in  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta$ ,  $\text{Ἡρακλῆς}$ , and in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  verbs.

(3)  $\iota + \iota = \bar{\iota}$  in  $\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\eta$ .

(4)  $o + a = \omega$  in  $\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$ .

$o + o = (a)$   $\bar{o}\bar{o}$  in  $\beta\acute{o}\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\iota\kappa\lambda\acute{o}\omicron\nu$ ;  $(b)$   $ou$  in other contracted  $o$ -stem nouns, in the genit. sing. of  $\omega$ -stem nouns, and in  $-\acute{o}\omega$  verbs.

$o + \epsilon = \bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}$  in  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ .

$o + \epsilon\iota = \omicron\iota$  in  $-\acute{o}\omega$  verbs.

$o + \eta = \omega$  in  $\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omicron\nu$ ,  $\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta\iota$  (Hippon. 3. 1 has  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\sigma\eta\sigma\epsilon$ , which edd. correct to  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega\sigma\epsilon$ ).

5. Elision. Apart from the short vowels,  $-a\iota$  is elided in verbal endings and  $-\omicron\iota$  in  $\mu\omicron\iota$  and  $\sigma\omicron\iota$ . In a few cases P has *scriptio plena*, which I have retained.

6. Aphaeresis, crasis, synaloephe. P is inconsistent in the representation of the collision of vowels, but may reproduce, however imperfectly, the practice of Hds., as similar inconsistencies are found in Hippon. and Call. The number of cases of aphaeresis and crasis in Hds. is proportionately almost the same as that in Hippon. and Call., but that of cases of synaloephe is much greater— $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as many as Call., 10 times as many as Hippon. Part of the explanation is probably untypical survival of Hippon., part extension by Hds. of a trait in Hippon. (one of the two cases, 73. 4  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$   $\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , is as violent as any in Hds.).

(1) Aphaeresis. Apart from a conjecture in 2. 43, the elided vowel is  $\epsilon$  (Hippon. has 3 cases of  $\epsilon$  of  $a$ ; Call. has 4 cases of  $\epsilon$ , all in prepositions preceded by  $\eta$ ).



- (2) Crasis. The majority of cases are with *καί*; when the following word begins with *ε*, the result is either *καᾶ-* (8 cases; so Hippon.) or *κῆ-* (24 cases; so Call.) (cf. Schmidt 20 sqq., who, following some edd., none however completely consistently, would restore *κῆ-* everywhere, but Hds. has too many double forms for this to be certain); when it is *εῖ*, the result is either *κεῖ* (4. 83) or *κῆ* (8. 75, probably corrupt in 6. 6); there are 3 cases of 3 vowels being combined (*καὶ ὁ Ἀ-* = *κῶ-* 2. 97, 4. 3, *καὶ ὁ Ἥ-* = *κῆ-* 2. 96; so Hippon. 25). The only other large group is with the article; *τὸ ὁ-* = *τοῦ-* (2. 75), but *οἱ ὁ-* = *ὦ-* (6. 102). The remainder are: *ᾠνδρες* 2. 61, *μῆλασσον* 3. 58, *ἐγὼ δε* 1. 3, *ἐγὼ μι* 5. 15, *ᾠ* 4. 75 (*ῆρα*, *ὀτεύνεκα*, and *τριτημέρη* have become units). In Hippon. and Call. *καί* and the article likewise form a large proportion of the cases: *ὦ*+vocat., *δηῖτε* Hippon. 122, and *προῦπινεν* Hippon. 14. 3 are the only other examples.
- (3) Synaloephe. Recognizable groups are formed by *καί*, the article, *ῆ*, *μή*, *εἰ*, and pronouns; the remainder are quite miscellaneous, showing that Hds. set no limits here: 2. 72, 90, 3. 8, 21, 81, 94, 4. 42, 71, 5. 6, 6. 81, 100, 7. 34, 91, 106, 8. 13. Hippon. has only 84. 13 *μή ἡμέας* and 73. 4. Call. has examples with *καί*, the article, *ὦ*, *ῆ*, *μή*, and *φεῦ*.

7. Hiatus. There are only a few examples, of normal types. See Index II s.v. prosody.

8. Compensatory lengthening for loss of consonant. Hds. has such lengthening in *οὐδός*, *καλός*, *οὔλος*, *γούνα*, *μῦνος*, *ξείνος*, *εῖριον*, *κούρη*, *νοῦσος*, but does not have it in *καλός* (metrically necessary), *ὄλος* (not metrically necessary), *μόνος* (metrically necessary), *ἔριον* (not metrically necessary), *ὄρος* (not metrically necessary), *ῖσος* (metrically necessary).

9. *κ* for *π* in direct and indirect interrogative pronouns. P has *κ* 54 times and *π* corrected to *κ* 5 times; it has *π* 5 times, of which I correct one (6. 27) and retain the rest for euphonic reasons (nn. on 2. 28, 56, 7. 22, 44). Hippon. has *κ* except in 128. 3, 129, which are hexameters. Call. has *κ* except in *Fr.* 194. 40 *χωπότ'* (he may have shrunk from the correct Ion. but harsh-sounding *κώκότ'*, and from the mixed and hardly better sounding *χωκότ'*). This is a feature restricted to Eastern Ionic.

10. *σσ* (from dental+*γ*) is retained in *ῥσος* (3 times) and *τόσος* (once, a metrically necessary correction), but simplified in *ῥος* (8 times, 3 metrically necessary), *τόσος* (twice, once metrically necessary), and *μέσος* (twice, once metrically necessary). *σσ* (from guttural+*γ*) is retained; P occasionally writes the Att. *ττ*, which I correct.

11. Psilosis. Evidence for the presence or absence of aspiration is found (a) in elision and crasis, when the consonant preceding the elided or merged vowel is  $\kappa$ ,  $\pi$ , or  $\tau$ , and with  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa$ , (b) in composition under the same conditions; in each case, when the following vowel is aspirated, the consonant becomes  $\chi$ ,  $\phi$ , or  $\theta$ . Eastern Ionic inscriptions show psilosis in (a), aspiration in (b). In (a) P has psilosis 27 times, aspiration corrected to psilosis twice, aspiration 49 times; in (b) always aspiration. In Hippon. in (a) *POxy.* 2174 has psilosis 4 times, aspiration twice; Tzetzes in his quotations has psilosis always, as has Juba in ἀκούσατ' Ἱππώνακτος; *PStrasb.* 3 and other citators have aspiration. For (b) Tzetzes expressly cites κατευδούσης (70. 7) and μεταρμόσας (161), while καθεύδοντα (29. 1) is quoted by Sch. Hom. for another purpose. In Call. in (a) *POxy.* 1011 has 2 cases of aspiration, 6 of psilosis; *PRyl.* 485 has one of aspiration; *PUniv. Milan.* 18 and various citators aspiration in ἀκούσαθ' Ἱππώνακτος. In (b) there is always aspiration. This seems a matter on which an author must have taken a definite attitude for each type: psilosis or aspiration, but not a mixture. In all three authors the evidence in (a) points clearly to psilosis, the contrary examples being due to normalization by scribes (the papyri of Call. are two centuries younger than those of Hds. and Hippon. and may therefore be expected to preserve fewer of such features). But in (b) there is evidence for psilosis only in Hippon.; Hds. and Call. agree with the inscriptions. I therefore restore psilosis throughout, except in compounds, following Meister (and to a certain extent Knox) in Hds., Hoffmann in Hippon. This means of course not only writing  $\kappa$ ,  $\pi$ , and  $\tau$  in the cases discussed, but also banishing the *spiritus asper*.

12. Movable consonants. (1)  $\nu$  ἐφελκυστικόν is frequently used in verbal forms, dat. plurals, and adverbs (πρόσθεν, ὀτεύνεκεν), mostly (46 times, including 4. 68) before vowels, occasionally before consonants (in 3. 63, 4. 88, 7. 103 metrically necessary; in 1. 7 not metrically necessary) and at the end of the verse (1. 14, 2. 34, 4. 10, 94; only in the first case does the next verse begin with a vowel). Similarly in Hippon. it is used 19 times before vowels, once before a consonant (117. 5, metrically necessary), 4 times at the end of the verse (before a vowel in the following verse 34. 3, 73. 3, 79. 17; the verse following 21 is lost), once in an unknown position (14. 3); in Call. it is used 16 times before a vowel, 3 times before a consonant (*Fr.* 191. 56, 194. 86, 195. 24; metrically necessary), 7 times at the end of the verse (before a vowel in the following verse *Fr.* 191. 38, 194. 34, 55; before a consonant *Fr.* 191. 2; the verses following *Fr.* 191. 74, 193. 25, 194. 109 are lost). (2) -ς appears in ἄχρῃς, μέχρῃς, and οὐτως, before vowels except in 7. 7; Hds. also has μέχρῃ and οὐτω (7. 41 ἄχρῃ

requires correction). Of these Hippon. has only οὔτω, Call. has ἄχρις, μέχρι, οὔτως, and οὔτω.

13. *Muta cum liquida*. Hds. treats a syllable consisting of short vowel + mute + liquid as long or short to suit his convenience. When the metre is decisive there are 59 cases of a long and 52 of a short; there are 40 cases where the metre is not decisive. Hippon. and Call. do the same, but have a much smaller proportion of short: Hippon. has 6 short (including 2 in a dactylic epode) to 41 long, Call. has 13 short to 60 long. Similarly Hds. allows a short vowel before an initial ρ to make a long or a short syllable: 3 each; Hippon. has 1 each, Call. 1 short.

#### 14. Declension.

(1) *a*-stems. The genit. sing. of masc. nouns is  $\bar{\epsilon}\omega$ , except Πυθέω (from Πυθεέω);  $\bar{\epsilon}\omega$  Hippon. and Call. The genit. pl. is  $\bar{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}$ ; so Hippon. and Call. In the dat. pl. P presents -ηισιν 3 times (all before vowels), -ηισι 3 times, -ηις 5 times (in the article 3 times, in nouns joined with the article twice), αὐτῆισ[ 6. 102, -αισι 3 times, and -αις 10 times (in the article twice; in nouns joined with the article twice; in other nouns, before vowels, twice; also ταῖσδε, ταύταις); also in 12. 2 Stob. presents ταῖσι μὴλάνθα(ι)σιν. Hippon. has -ηισιν twice, -ηισι 3 times; in 73. 5 POxy. 2174 fr. 4 has τ . . ς and Masson reads ταῖς, but from the photograph in the *ed. pr.* I should judge τῆις to be equally possible. Call. has only -αις once (*Fr.* 193. 28). In inscriptions -αι- is always a sign of Att. influence, and similarly I regard P's variation as normalization; there is no pattern to be observed in it, as one would expect if it were due to Hds. I restore -ηι- everywhere. The shorter form occurs before vowels and consonants and at the end of the verse. Meister, being unable to restore absolutely correct Ion., kept P's variations.

(2) *o*-stems. For a hyper-Ion. genit. pl. in  $\bar{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}$  see 2. 80 n. The dat. pl. is -οισιν twice, -οισι 4 times, -οις 20 times; the shorter form occurs before vowels and consonants and at the end of the verse. The 'Att. declension' occurs in ἱλεως and possibly τέλεως. For contracted nouns see above 4 (4).

(3) *i*-stems. The genit. sing. is -ιος (Μάνδριος, πόλιος, the latter scanned both  $\cup\cup\cup$  and  $\cup-$ ). The dat. sing. is -ῖ (βάσι), the accus. pl. -ῖς (προφάσις), though these might be -ει and -εις because of P's orthography.

(4) *ō*-stems. For the accus. sing. -οῦν see 2. 98 n.

(5) Mute and liquid stems. For a hyper-Ion. genit. pl. in  $\bar{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}$  see 6. 11 n. For nouns in  $\bar{a}\delta$ - see 6. 25 n.

(6) *s*-stems. The genit. sing. is -εὺς neut., -ῆω masc. (Πρηξίτελέω

4. 23 n.). The nomin. and accus. pl. neut. is  $-\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}$  or  $-\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}$ ; 4. 7  $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\eta$  should be corrected. The genit. pl. is  $-\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\omega}\nu$  or  $-\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\omega}\nu$ . In names  $\text{'Ηρακλῆς}$  is contracted.

(7) Pronouns.

(a) Personal. 1st pers.:  $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\epsilon$  and  $\mu\epsilon$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\omicron\iota$  and  $\mu\omicron\iota$ ;  $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\eta\acute{\mu}\acute{\iota}\nu$  and  $\eta\acute{\mu}\iota\upsilon$ . 2nd pers.:  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$  and  $\sigma\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\omicron\iota$  and  $\sigma\omicron\iota$ ;  $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  ( $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  P once),  $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  and  $\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\iota\upsilon$ . 3rd pers.:  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\mu\iota\upsilon$  (5 or 6 times),  $\nu\iota\upsilon$  (5 times) ( $\mu\iota\upsilon$  occurs in Hippon. and Call.;  $\nu\iota\upsilon$  is of course Dor., but I hesitate to change it to  $\mu\iota\upsilon$  with Meister, as there seems no reason for its introduction by P).

(b) Reflexive.  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $-\eta\acute{\nu}$ ;  $\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $-\omicron\upsilon$   $-\eta\varsigma$ , and  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $-\omicron\upsilon$ ;  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , and  $\omega\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ .  $-\alpha\upsilon-$  and  $-\omega\upsilon-$  are both found in inscriptions, and I leave what P presents.

(c) Interrogative. The genit. sing. of  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$  and  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ , once each. Call. has  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ .

(d) Relative. The genit. sing. of  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is generally  $\omicron\upsilon$ , but twice  $\epsilon\upsilon$  (8. 3 n.); for that of  $\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$  P gives  $\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , but I correct this to  $\delta\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ . For the dat. sing. of  $\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$  P gives  $\delta\tau\epsilon\omega\iota$  and  $\delta\tau\omega\iota$  once each; I correct the latter to  $\delta\tau\epsilon\omega\iota$ .  $\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$  is used both as a general and as an individual pronoun (2. 26 n.). For  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$  as relative see 3. 21 n.

(8) Diminutives. These are frequent, especially in  $-\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , as in Hippon. See also Index II s.v. nouns.

15. Conjugation.

(1) Reduplication. The so-called 'Att. reduplication' occurs in  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\alpha$ ,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$  (also  $\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$ ). The first and last of these are peculiar to Hds. (grammarians may derive from him). Cf. Schmidt 75 sqq.

(2) Augment. Omitted in 8. 45, 73 (nn.).

(3) Endings.

2nd pers. sing. indic. mid.:  $-\epsilon\iota$  and  $-\eta\iota$  4 times each. The former is Att., and I correct.

1st pers. pl. indic. mid.:  $-\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  and  $-\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$ .

2nd pers. sing. imp. mid.:  $-\epsilon\omicron$  and  $-\epsilon\upsilon$  (for 1. 17 see n.), apart from  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma\omicron$ .

subj. act.: 1st pers. sing.  $-\omega$  and  $-\omega\mu\iota$  (3. 43 n.), 3rd pers. sing.  $-\eta\iota$  and probably  $-\eta\sigma\iota$  (4. 63 n.).

opt. act.: 2nd pers. sing.  $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , 3rd pers. sing.  $-\alpha\iota$  and  $-\epsilon\iota\epsilon(\nu)$ .

(4)  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega$  verbs.  $\alpha$  becomes  $\epsilon$  before  $\omicron$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon$  (then  $\epsilon+\omicron(\nu) > \epsilon\upsilon$ ), and  $\omega$  (then  $\epsilon+\omega > \epsilon\omega$ ), but remains before  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\iota$ . This phenomenon is regular in Ion. literature, though not found in inscriptions.  $\alpha+\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\iota > \acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\iota$  ( $\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\eta\upsilon$ ,  $\chi\acute{\rho}\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\psi\eta\eta\upsilon$  are not exceptions, but examples of  $\epsilon$ -stems;  $\theta\lambda\eta\eta\upsilon$  is an

analogical extension of these; ἀπεμπολῆν, λωβῆσθαι, and some others are false readings; see Schmidt 27 sqq.).

(5) εἰμί. In the 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. P has εἰς and εἶ twice each: I correct the latter, which is purely Att. For the 1st pers. pl. see 6. 70 n. The epic forms εἶασι and εἶσσεται are found. In the partic. ὦν and εἶών occur; otherwise ε- is always retained, either as a separate syllable or contracted to εὖ-.

#### 16. Prepositions.

(1) Apocope in ἄσσηθι (8. 1 n.).

(2) εἰς occurs before a vowel where a short is required once, in indifferent position once, and before a consonant 23 times (including once in crasis with καί); εἰς occurs before a vowel where a long is required 3 times, in indifferent position once, and before a consonant 6 times. Hippon. has εἶς (before a vowel where a short is required once, elsewhere before a consonant) except in 27. 2 (εἶς codd., before a consonant); Call. has εἶς (before a vowel where a short is required once, elsewhere before a consonant).

(3) P presents several instances of assimilation of the final consonant of a preposition to the initial consonant of the following word and of non-assimilation in composition; I have allowed these to stand.

17. Particles. οὖν, not ὦν; a papyrus of Hippon. has ὦν in 78. 16, although οὖν is in the codd. of 29. 2; Call. has οὖν.

## APPENDIX III

### METRE

As in Appendix II, so here my intention is not to give a detailed description of Herodas' metre, but to make observations helpful to the establishment of the text and comparison with Hippon. and Call. The statistics were compiled in 1961-2 from Knox's text of Hds. and Diehl's of Hippon. : I have not revised them thoroughly to correspond to my text and that of Masson, thinking that the slight changes which would result would not be worth the labour involved. (S. Witkowski, 'Observ. metr. ad H.', *Anal. Graeco-Latina* [1893], 1-13, is out of date. D. Bo, *La Lingua di Er.* [see App. II init.], gives figures which differ from mine, sometimes apparently, sometimes really: the former case is due to Bo's treatment of the verse as a whole, which I do not find helpful; I have checked my figures in one of the latter cases, and find no reason to make any changes.) Decimals are corrected to the first place.

#### 1. The first *anceps*:

	short	long
Hds.	34.1%	64.1%
Hippon.	40.6%	57.5%
Call.	35.2%	64.8%

#### The second *anceps*:

	short	long
Hds.	29.5%	70.4%
Hippon.	38.6%	61.4%
Call.	31.9%	68.1%

Hds. and Call. agree generally in having more long *incipitia* than Hippon.

#### 2. Resolution:

(1) of the first *anceps* (anapaest in 1st foot): Hds. 9 cases, 1.3 per cent (all within one word or word-group except 6. 72; 4 in proper names); Hippon. 2 cases, 1.2 per cent (both within one word; 1 in a proper name); Call. no cases.

(2) of the first *longum*,

(a) with the first *anceps* short (tribrach in 1st foot): Hds. 4 cases, 0.6 per cent (all within one word or word-group); Hippon. 7 cases, 4.2 per cent (all within one word or word-group except 42.2); Call. 3 cases, 1.2 per cent (all within one word).

(b) with the first *anceps* long (dactyl in 1st foot): Hds. 15 cases, 2.3 per cent (all within one word or word-group except 2. 40, 56, divided - ∪ | ∪); Hippon. 1 case, 0.6 per cent (within one word); Call. 2 cases, 0.8 per cent (divided - | ∪ ∪).

(3) of the second *longum* (tribrach in 2nd foot): Hds. 18 cases, 2.5 per cent (all either within one word or word-group or divided ∪ | ∪ ∪); Hippon. 3 cases, 2.0 per cent (all either within one word or divided ∪ | ∪ ∪); Call. 1 case, 0.4 per cent (within one word).

(4) of the third *longum*,

(a) with the second *anceps* short (tribrach in 3rd foot): Hds. 3 cases, 0.4 per cent (within one word or word-group and divided ∪ | ∪ ∪); Hippon. and Call. no cases.

(b) with the second *anceps* long (dactyl in 3rd foot): Hds. 16 cases, 2.2 per cent (all either within one word or word-group or divided - | ∪ ∪, except 3. 9, divided - ∪ | ∪); Hippon. 1 case, 0.6 per cent (divided - | ∪ ∪); Call. 2 cases, 0.9 per cent (divided - | ∪ ∪).

(5) of the fourth *longum* (tribrach in 4th foot): Hds. 3 cases, 0.4 per cent (all either within one word-group or divided ∪ | ∪ ∪); Hippon. and Call. no cases.

Resolution of *brevia* does not occur in Call., probably not in Hippon. (in 25 delete the pointless *καὶ* with Meineke), and in Hds. only in names or equivalents (2. 82, 4. 72, 6. 55, not all certain, see nn.; other apparent cases are false: 3. 71, 4. 71, 86, 6. 81).

Hds. is in general more free with resolution than Hippon., Call. definitely more strict. Herodas' freedom is however relative, comparable to that of early Eur. rather than to that of comedy.

### 3. The third *anceps*:

	short	long
Hds.	95.4%	4.2% (32 cases)
Hippon.	86.6%	12.8% (21 cases)
Call.	100.0%	—

The final syllable:

	short	long
Hds.	34.9%	65.0%
Hippon.	36.3%	63.6%
Call.	35.9%	64.1%

Final accent in the verse:

	antepenult.	penult.	ult.
Hds.	14.1%	73.0%	12.9%
Hippon.	20.9%	65.8%	13.2%
Call.	26.6%	60.2%	13.2%

Long third *anceps* gives the ending ---υ, which the ancients called ἰσχιόρρωξ and ascribed to Ananios; it is now clear that Hds. in using this form follows Hippon. (see Masson pp. 23 sqq.) and that it is Call. who innovates in avoiding it.

Witkowski claimed that Herodas' practice in the final syllable and accent is a forerunner of that of Babrios, in whom the final syllable is almost always long and the final accent is always on the penultimate, and this has become accepted belief. However the figures show that this is certainly wrong in the case of the final syllable and very dubious in that of the final accent; high percentages of long final syllable and penultimate accent occur in all choliambic and are therefore a feature of the Greek language.

4. Porson's law, forbidding -|<sup>10</sup>υ<sup>11</sup>. Neither Hippon. (5 violations in 21 cases) nor Hds. (12 violations in 32 cases) observes this. It does not arise in Call.

5. Wilamowitz's and Knox's laws, forbidding (1) <sup>1</sup>υ<sup>2</sup>-|<sup>10</sup>υ<sup>11</sup> and (2) <sup>1</sup>υ<sup>2</sup>-|<sup>10</sup>υ<sup>11</sup>. Hippon., with other early iambographers, observes both laws strictly. Hds. and Call. observe neither (for Call. see *Fr.* 195. 11, 33, 191. 92, 93).

6. Caesura. I have compiled no statistics on this subject, but report from Bo, l.c. 17 sqq., that Hds. has a penthemimeral as the main caesura, alone or with a hephthemimeral, in 74.6 per cent of his verses (Hippon. 73.4 per cent, Call. 78.6 per cent), a hephthemimeral in 25.1 per cent (Hippon. 26.6 per cent, Call. 18.6 per cent), and a diaeresis after the second metron in 2 cases (5. 32, 74).

7. Choriambic anaclassis. This phenomenon, by which the metron becomes -υυ- instead of υ-υ-, occurs not infrequently in lyric iambs (Maas, *Gr. Metre* § 33, 4), occasionally in the iambographers, the dialogue of tragedy and comedy, and Hellenistic and later choliambic, mostly in the first, but sometimes in the second metron. Its existence there is finally proved (some earlier scholars having assumed *ad hoc* lengthening or corruption) and the most complete list of examples given by Schmidt 96 sqq. (some of the cases are, I think, more likely than he allows). In Hds. it occurs in 1. 67, 3. 7, and 4. 20; 3. 68 is unlikely; see nn. In Hippon. it occurs in *fr. apud Hdn. Gr. καθ. προσ.* (ed. H. Hunger, *Jahrb. d. öst. byz. Gesell.* xvi [1967], 4) καὶ †επλεν† ὥσπερ κρεκύδειλος ἐν λαύρῃ and ἡ κρεκύδειλον ἡ πίθηκον. In Call. it occurs in *Fr.* 192. 14 καὶ πολύμυθοι καὶ λαλοὶ πεφύκασιν and 203. 21 ὡς ὑγίειης οὐδὲ τῶνυχι ψαύεις.



8. There are clearly differences in the metrical practice of the three poets, but they are not large, and they are not all in the one direction : one cannot say that either Hds. or Call. was a more faithful follower of Hippon.



# I. INDEX VERBORVM

\* indicates a supplement in the text; \*\* one in the apparatus; † a conjecture in the text; †† one in the apparatus. A reference in italics indicates a note ad loc. on the word or form.

## (a) Index nominum.

- Ἀβδηρα* -οισιν 2. 58.  
*Ἀγρεύς* -εῦ 3. 34.  
*Ἰδης* *Ἰδην* 3. 17, *Ἰδεω* 1. 32.  
*Ἀδράστεια* *Ἀδρήστεια* 6. 35.  
*Ἀθήνη* *Ἀθηναίην* 4. 57, 7. 116; -ης 6. 65, 7. 81.  
*Αἴγυπτος* -ον 1. 23; -ωι 1. 27.  
*Αἰόλος* -ου 8. \*37.  
*Ἀκέσσης* -εω 3. 61.  
*Ἀκη* -ης 2. 16.  
*Ἀμφυταΐη* -ην 5. 4 P, 29; -ηι 5. 3, †4.  
*Ἀνᾶς* (? *Ἀνᾶ*) -ᾶ (voc.) 8. 14, \*43, \*\*66.  
*Ἀντίδωρος* -ωι 5. 61.  
*Ἀπέλλης* -εω 4. 73.  
*Ἀπόλλων* 4. 3; -ον 3. 34.  
*Ἀργείος* -α (nom.) 7. 60.  
*Ἀριστοφών* 2. \*12; -ῶντ 2. \*11.  
*Ἀρτακηνή* 7. 92; -ῆς 7. 87.  
*Ἀρτεμείς* 6. 87, 89; -εῖν 6. 95.  
*Ἀρτίμυς* 2. 38.  
*Ἀσκληπιός* 2. 97; -ῶι 4 tit.  
*Ἀυρεὺς* -εῦ 3. 34 v.l.  
  
*Βατάλη* -ην 4. 37; -ης 4. 35.  
*Βαττάριος* -ωι 2. 82.  
*Βάτταρος* 2. 49, 75; -ον 2. 5; -ωι 2. ††82, 93.  
*Βατυλλίς* 5. 70; -ίδα 5. 82.  
*Βιτᾶς* -ᾶδος (-ᾶτος P) 6. 25, 81.  
*Βίτιννα* (voc.) 5. 6, 19, 26, 35, 38; -αν 5. 17.  
*Βρικίνδαρα* -δήροις 2. 57.  
  
*Γάστρων* (voc.) 5. 1, 15.  
*Γερήνια* (nom.) 5. 80.  
*Γλύκη* -ην 9. 2.  
*Γρύλλος* 1. 50; -ε 10. 2 (bis).  
*Γυλλίς* 1. 5, 7 (bis), 78, 87, 90; (voc.) 1. 9, 11; -ί 1. 18, 67, 82, 84.  
*Γύλλος* 1. 50 v.l.  
  
*Δᾶος* -ου 5. 68.  
  
*Δήλιος* 3. 51.  
*Δημήτηρ* -τρα 1. 69, 86.  
*Διόνυσος* *Διωνύσου* 8. †40, \*68.  
*Δρήχων* 5. 42.  
*Δρίμυλος* -ωι 7. 5.  
  
*Ἑκατῇ* 7. 86, 91.  
*Ἐπίδωρος* -ον 4. 2.  
*Ἑρμῆς* -ῆ 7. 74.  
*Ἑρμόδωρος* 6. 53.  
*Ἑρμων* -ωνα 5. 32; -ωνι 5. 48.  
*Ἑρυθραί* -έων 6. 58.  
*Ἑρως* -ωτες 7. 94.  
*Εὐβούλη* 6. 25, †81.  
*Εὐέτιρα* -αν 9. 2.  
*Εὐετηρίς* 7. †100.  
*Εὐθείης* 3. 59, 4. 24, 26 P; -ηι 4. †26.  
*Ἐφέσιος* -ου 4. 72.  
  
*Ζεὺς* 7. 46; *Δία* 2. 81.  
  
*Ἡπιώ* 4. 6.  
*Ἡρακλῆς* 2. 96.  
*Ἡριννα* -ης 6. 20.  
  
*Θαλῆς* 2. 3, 27, 38, 78; *Θάλης* (voc.) 2. 55; -ῆ 2. 89; -ῆν 2. 50; -ῆτος 2. 62.  
*Θεσσαλός* 2. 96.  
*Θραῖσσα* *Θρείσσα* (voc.) 1. \*1, 79.  
  
*Ἰασώ* *Ἰησώ* 4. 6.  
*Ἰππῶναξ* -ακτα 8. 78.  
  
*Κανδᾶς* -ᾶδος (-ᾶτος P) 6. 87; -ᾶ[ 7. 29.  
*Κέρδειος* -η 7. 74.  
*Κερδέων* 7. 74.  
*Κέρδων* 6. 48 (bis), 62, 96; (voc.) 7. 1, 83, 93; -ωνα 7. 53; -ωνος 6. 66, 7. 120; -ωνι 7. 34; -ωνες 6. 49.  
*Κλειώ* *Κλεοῦς* 3. 92.  
*Κοκκάλη* (voc.) 4. 19, †88.  
*Κόκκαλος* 3. 60; -ε 3. 97.

- Κόρη Κούρην* 1. 32.  
*Κόρινθος -ωι* 1. 52.  
*Κοριττώ -οι* 6. 12, 18, 37, 86; -ί 6. 46,  
 \*97; -οὖς 6. 24.  
*Κορωνίς* 4. 3.  
*Κόσις -ιν* 5. 65.  
*Κοττάλη (voc.)* 4. 88 P.  
*Κότταλος -ε* 3. 62, 74; -ον 3. 48.  
*Κόττις -ιδος* 3. 72.  
*Κουτίς -ιδος* 3. 72 v.l.  
*Κύδιλλα* 5. 60; (voc.) 4. 41, 48, 5. 9, 41,  
 73.  
*Κυθέρεια Κυθηρίην* 1. 55.  
*Κυλαιθίς* 6. 55; -ιδος 6. 50.  
*Κυννώ -οι* 4. 20, 30, 35, 52, 56; -α 4. 60;  
 -ί 4. 71.  
*Κῶς* 2. 95; *Κῶν* 4. 2.  
  
*Λαμπρίσκος -ε* 3. 2, 7, 56, 71, 77, 81, 83,  
 88, 94.  
*Λαμπρίων -ωνος* 4. 64.  
*Λαομέδων Λεωμέδοντος* 4. 7.  
*Λάτμιος -ον (m.)* 8. 10.  
*Λητώ -οὖν* 2. 9δ.  
  
*Μάνδρις* 1. 23; -ιν 1. 77; -ιος 1. 68.  
*Μάρων -ωνα* 3. 24, 25.  
*Ματακίνη -ης* 1. 50 v.l.  
*Ματαλίνη -ης* 1. 50.  
*Μαχάων* 4. 9.  
*Μεγαλλίς -ί* 8. 10.  
*Μέννης* 2. \*12; -ην 2. 10.  
*Μένων -ωνος* 5. 3.  
*Μέροψ* 2. 95.  
*Μητρίχη* 1. 61, \*86; -ην 1. 76; -ηι 1. 6.  
*Μητροτίμη (voc.)* 3. †58; -ης 3. 48.  
*Μητρώ -οι* 6. 1, 20, 23, 29, 57, 67, 74,  
 94, 7. 3, 14, \*17, 20, 50, 127; -οὖν 6.  
 45; -οὖς 7. 107.  
*Μικίων -ωνος* 7. †43.  
*Μικκάλη -ης* 5. 52.  
*Μίνως* 2. 90.  
*Μίση -ης* 1. 56.  
*Μολπίνος* 10 †tit.  
*Μοῦσα -αν* 8. 76; -αι 3. 1; -ας 3. 83;  
 -έων 3. 71; -ηισιν 8. 72.  
*Μουσείον -ήιον (nom.)* 1. 31.  
*Μύελλος* 4. 63 P.  
*Μύλλος* 4. †63.  
*Μυράλη* 1. 89, 2. 65; -ης 2. 79.  
*Μυρταλίνη -ης* 6. 50.  
*Μύττης -εω* 4. 36.  
  
*Νάννακος -ον* 3. 10.  
  
*Νοσσίς* 6. 20, 22; -ίδι 6. 33.  
  
*Ξουθίδης -ηις (-αις P)* 8. 79.  
  
*Ὀδυσσεύς -έως* 8. \*37.  
  
*Παιάν -ών* 4. 26; -ηον 4. 1, 11, 82, 85;  
 -ήονα 4. 81.  
*Πανάκεια -κη* 4. 6.  
*Πάρις* 1. 34.  
*Παταίκιος -ου* 1. 50.  
*Παταικίσκος* 4. 63.  
*Πίσα -ηι* 1. 53.  
*Πίστος -ε* 7. 6, \*14, 54.  
*Ποδαλείριος* 4. 9.  
*Πόθος -οι* 7. 94.  
*Πραξίνος Πρηξίνος* 6. 62; -ον 6. 60.  
*Πραξιτέλης Πρηξιτέλεω* 4. 23.  
*Πράξων Πρήξωνος* 4. 25.  
*Πυθέας -έω* 1. 76.  
*Πυθώ -οι (dat.)* 1. 51.  
*Πυλαιθίς* 6. 55 v.l.  
*Πυρρίας -ίης* 5. 9; (voc.) 5. 55; -ίη 5. 23,  
 47, 59.  
  
*Σάμος -ωι* 2. 73.  
*Σίμη* 1. \*89.  
*Σίμων -ωνα* 3. 26.  
*Σισυμβρᾶς* 2. 76.  
*Σισυμβρίσκος* 2. 76.  
  
*Ταυρεών -ωνος* 7. 86.  
*Τρίκκα -ης* 2. 97, 4. 1.  
*Τύρος -ου* 2. 18.  
  
*Υγία* 4. 5; -ης 4. 20.  
  
*Φασηλῖς -ίδα* 2. 59.  
*Φιλαίνιον -ου* 1. †5 v.l.  
*Φιλαινίς -ιδος* 1. 5.  
*Φίλη (voc.)* 4. 27, 39, 72.  
*Φίλιππος* 2. \*73.  
*Φίλιστος* 2. \*73 v.l.  
*Φίλλος* 3. 60.  
*Φοίβη* 2. 98.  
*Φρύξ* 2. 37, 100, 3. 36, 5. 14.  
  
*Χαρώνδας Χαϊρώνδης* 2. 48.  
*Χίος -ου* 6. 58.  
  
*Ψύλλα (voc.)* 8. 1.

(b) Lemmata are generally as in *LSJ*; no cross-references are given.

- ἄ 4. 20, 30, 7. 111, 117.  
 ἄβρός -ά (nom.) 6. 45.  
 ἀγαθός -ή 7. 93; -ά (nom.) 1. 31; -ῶν (n.) 3. 57.  
 ἀγαλμα -άτων 4. 21.  
 ἀγαπάω ἡγάπησεν 6. 94.  
 ἀγγέλλω ἀγγειλον 1. 6.  
 ἀγινέω -ήτε 3. 55; -εῦσαι 4. 87.  
 ἀγκάλη -ης (-αις P) 5. 71.  
 ἄγκυρα -ης 1. 41.  
 ἀγκών -ῶνας 5. 25.  
 ἀγορά -ή 7. 49; -ῆς 5. 46.  
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